

27907

EPISTLES

DOMESTIC, CONFIDENTIAL, AND
OFFICIAL,

FROM

GENERAL WASHINGTON. *K*

WRITTEN ABOUT THE COMMENCEMENT
OF THE AMERICAN CONTEST, WHEN
HE ENTERED ON THE COMMAND
OF THE ARMY OF THE
UNITED STATES.

With an Interesting Series of his Letters, particularly to
the British Admirals, Arbuthnot and Digby; to General
Sir Henry Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, Sir Guy
Carleton, Marquis de la Fayette, &c. &c. To Benjamin
Harrison, Esq. Speaker of the House of Delegates
in Virginia, to Admiral the Count de Grasse, General
Sullivan, respecting an Attack of New-York; including
many Applications and Addresses presented to him,
with his Answers: Orders and Instructions, on important
Occasions, to his Aids de Camp, &c. &c. &c.

*None of which have been printed in the two Volumes published
a few Months ago.*

NEW-YORK:

Printed by G. ROBINSON and J. BULL.

LONDON: Re-printed for F. and C. RIVINGTON,
Nº 62, St. Paul's Church-Yard,

1796.

23 JUL 1951

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

304

GENERAL WASHINGTON

OF THE AMERICAN CONTEST, WHEN
WRITTEN ABOUT THE COMMENCEMENT

OF THE AMERICAN CONTEST, WHEN

of General W. H. Wood, and I wish to be
in the publication of the two volumes



...and applied



[Faint circular stamp at the bottom center]

1987

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

2011-12-15 10:10:10

COLEMAN

1967

© 1994 by The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. This book is printed on acid-free paper.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1. The first group of people who are interested in the study of the history of the United States are the people who are interested in the history of the United States.

THE

debited to the

volumes of

but the college was not

Printed by C. K. K. and J. L. L. as 10 10

... ..

1702, St. Paul, Church-Yard.

1

1000



P R E F A C E.

SINCE the publication of the two volumes of General Washington's *Original Letters to the Congress*, the Editor has been repeatedly applied to for the General's *Domestic and Confidential Epistles*, first published soon after the beginning of the American war. These Epistles are here offered to the public, together with a copious Appendix, containing a number of *Official Letters and Papers*, not to be found in the General's *Original Letters*, lately published.

THE world is, without doubt, greatly indebted to the industrious compiler of the two volumes of *Original Letters*, above noticed, but the collection must certainly be looked upon as in a mutilated state, so long as it re-

mains unaccompanied with the Epistles, &c. which are now respectfully submitted to the patronage of the public, and which form a supplement absolutely necessary to render the work complete.

THAT this collection of *Domestic and Confidential Epistles* will be regarded as a valuable acquisition, by a very great majority of the citizens of the United States, is presumable from the prevailing taste of all well-informed people. Men not precluded by ignorance from every degree of literary curiosity, will always feel a solicitude to become acquainted with whatever may serve to throw light on the characters of illustrious personages. History represents them acting on the stage of the world courting the applause of mankind; to see them in their real character, we must follow them behind the scenes, among their private connections and domestic concerns.

Nor is this kind of inquisitiveness to be ascribed to an ill-natured desire of discovering the

P R E F A C E.

ii

the foibles of those who tower above us in talents of virtue, with an intention of levelling them to our own standard: it has a much more amiable source; which is, no other than a natural propensity in the generality of mankind to find something to commend in even the most insignificant actions of those they admire. The inconceivable pains that have been taken to come at the domestic anecdotes of Shakspeare, could certainly have no motive but the laudable one of obtaining some endearing memorial of a man, whose fame will never die, but with the language in which he wrote.

If, then, this propensity is praise-worthy, when the subject of enquiry relates to persons of literary fame, it must be so in a tenfold degree when it relates to a man so eminently exalted as he to whom these Epistles are attributed: for, however great may be the services of the former, however their labours may have added to our pleasures, softened our manners, enlarged our understanding,

and improved our hearts, yet are they of an order inferior to those which rescue an Empire from ruin, give happiness to millions, and enable them to transmit it to their children's children. Even abstracted from all considerations relating to self, where is the man whose every sentiment so well deserves to be remembered? In whom was there ever seen such an assemblage of virtues? To him belongs the rare felicity of uniting zeal with moderation, firmness with prudence, and courage with circumspection. We may challenge the world to produce a hero, who, like him, has attained to the highest pinnacle of honour, without staining his career with a single crime.

Not to know how to prize the good they possess, is but too often the misfortune of mankind; we must not, therefore, be surprized, if some Americans should be found totally indifferent as to such anecdotes as do honour to our illustrious Chief Magistrate, and others who seek for such only as may tend to produce a contrary effect; but we may rest

P R E F A C E.

11

rest assured, that the time will come, when even those who are now vainly endeavouring to cast a shade over his virtues and his services, will think themselves happy in possessing the slightest testimony of their veneration for his memory.

tions relating to tell where is the man who every sentiment to well deserves to be remembered? In whom was there ever seen such an assemblage of virtues? To him belongs the rare felicity of uniting real with moderation, himself with prudence, and courage with circumspection. We may challenge the world to produce a hero, who, like him, has attained to the highest pinnacle of honour, without staining his career with a single crime.

Not to know how to prize the good they possess, is, but too often the misfortune of mankind; we must not therefore be surprised, if some Americans should be found totally indifferent as to such anecdotes as do honour to our illustrious Chief Magistrate, and others who seek for rich only as may tend to produce a contrary effect, but we may

CON.

self

PREFACE.

It is almost a century since the time will come, when even those who are now vainly endeavouring to cast a shade over his virtues and his services, will be obliged to acknowledge the high estimation in which his memory is held by the people of his country.

CONTENTS.

General Washington to Mr. Lund Washington	4
Do. to his son-in-law, John Parke Custis, Esq.	14
Do. to Mr. Lund Washington	24
Do. to do.	30
Do. to do.	37
Do. to do.	47
Do. to Mrs. Washington	56
The Rev. Mr. Duché, Chaplain to Congress, to General Washington	67
Lieut. Col. Parke's Answer to do.	84
Lieu. General Sir Henry Clinton, to General Washington	100
	General

CONTENTS.

xi

Gen. Washington's Answer to Sir Henry Clinton	102
Do. - - - to do. -	ibid.
Do. - - - to do. -	103
Resolution of Congress on the Exchange of Prisoners	104
General Sir Henry Clinton's do, respecting do.	106
Gen. Washington to Lieut. Colonel's R. H. Harrison and Alexander Hamilton	109
Colonels O'Hara and Hyde, to do. and do.	111
Answer from Lieut. Colonels Harrison and Hamilton to do.	ibid.
Colonels O'Hara and Hyde, to Sir Henry Clinton	118
Proposals from Gen. Prevost, respecting Exchange	122
General Prevost's Letter on do.	123
Report of Col. Hyde and Capt. Andre, on the overtures made by General Washington	129
General Washington's definitive Proposals by Colonels Davies and Harris	135
Col. Hyde and Capt. Andre on do.	142
Do. and do. to Gen. Clinton on do.	145
General Washington to Admiral Arbuthnot, on the treatment of the American prisoners on board the ship Jersey in New-York harbour	153
Capt. Dawson and the English Commissioners	155
Report in answer to do.	155

155.

General

- General Washington, to Benj. Hamilton, Esq/
Speaker of the House of Delegates, Virginia,
on the difficulties and dangers of the Southern
States, as to the want of men, arms, ammuni-
tion and clothing 172
- General Washington, to Mr. Lund Washington
respecting an honourable settlement with Mr.
Triplet, also concerning the French fleet not
acting agreeable to the General's advice. 178
- Gen. Washington to the Marquis de la Fayette,
concerning the departure of a detachment of
troops from New-York to the Chesapeak 180
- General Washington to the Marquis de la Fayette
on preferring an attack on the garrison and city
of New York, to an expedition to Virginia 181
- Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, urging an at-
tack of New York in preference to any other
object 183
- Gen. Washington to the Congress, on the capitu-
lation of Lord Cornwallis's army 187
- Lord Cornwallis to Gen. Washington, proposing
a cessation of hostilities 191
- Gen. Washington to Lord Cornwallis, acceding
a suspension of hostilities 192
- Lord Cornwallis to General Washington, pro-
posing terms of capitulation 193

CONTENTS.

xiii

General Washington to Lord Cornwallis, stating the terms on which only he will accede to the capitulation	194
Lord Cornwallis to General Washington on the surrender of York and Gloucester	197
General Washington to the President of Congress, informing of the surrender of York and Gloucester	199
General Washington to the Count de Gralle, instructing him in the most advantageous way of disposing the navy	200
General Washington to Sir Henry Clinton on the death of Captain Huddy	206
Sir Henry Clinton in answer to do,	207
General Washington to Congress, inclosing dispatches received from Sir Guy Carlton	210
Sir Guy Carlton to General Washington on the subject of unauthorised excesses	ibid.
General Washington in answer to do.	213
General Washington to Rear-Admiral Digby, on the treatment of the American prisoners at New-York	215
Admiral Digby in answer to do.	217
Sir Guy Carlton and Admiral Digby, to General Washington; written in consequence of directions from England	218
Orders from Congress for the releafe of Capt. Asgill	221
General	

General Washington to Capt. Asgill covering the order from Congress for his release	222
General Washington to Sir Guy Carlton on a partial suspension of hostilities	224
Sir Guy Carlton in answer to do.	225
Proceedings of the Federal Army to obtain a redress of grievances	227
Anonymous address to the American army tending to seduce them from their duty	229
General Orders issued by General Washington, on the attempts to mislead the army	239
Anonymous address to the army, subversive of order and military duty	237
General Washington's address to the army on the insidious attempts to seduce them from their allegiance to their country	241
Orders issued by General Washington on the cessation of hostilities	255
Address of the President of the Congress to General Washington, on the happy termination of the war	260
General Washington's reply to do.	262
Resolutions of Congress for erecting an Equestrian Statue of General Washington, to perpetuate the remembrance of his important services	264

CONTENTS,

Congratulatory Address of the Senate and Representatives of Massachusetts to General Washington on the restoration of peace	266
General Washington's Farewell Orders to the armies of the United States	268
General Washington's orders for celebrating the return of peace	277
Address of the Officers of the army to General Washington on the happy termination of their labours	278
Address of the militia officers of Somerset county to General Washington	284
General Washington's reply to do.	289
Particulars of General Washington's entry into New York, 26th Nov. 1783	290
Address of the Citizens of New York, returning from exile, to General Washington	292
General Washington's answer to do.	295
Address of the Irish Volunteers and other inhabitants of the kingdom of Ireland, emigrated to America, to General Washington	296
General Washington's answer to do.	299
Pathetic account of General Washington's final adieu to the army on the 6th Dec. 1783	300

Letter

Letter from J. Shaw to the hon. Gen. Brigadier Jackson, inclosing a letter from Gen. Washington to Gen. Knox 302

Gen. Washington to Major Gen. Knox, returning thanks to Capt. Price and the officers who assisted at the Fire-Works. 303

312

316

324

329

330

332

332

336

339

339

340

340

LETTERS

FROM

GENERAL WASHINGTON.

THE public will naturally be inquisitive as to the authenticity of the following letters. For every thing else, they will speak for themselves: and, for their genuineness, the Editor conceives himself concerned to give only such vouchers as he himself has received. By the last packet he was favoured with a letter from a friend, now serving in a loyal corps under Brigadier-General Delancey of New-York, of which he here subjoins a faithful extract. Pleased with the communication himself (and, as he is not ashamed to add, instructed by it) he could not be easy to withhold it from the public at large: inasmuch as, in his judgment, it exhibits a fairer and fuller view of

B

American

American politics, than the world has yet seen.

“ Among the prisoners at Fort-Lee, I espied a mulatto fellow, whom I thought I recollected, and who confirmed my conjectures by gazing very earnestly at me. I asked him, if he knew me. At first, he was unwilling to own it; but, when he was about to be carried off, thinking, I suppose, that I might, perhaps, be of some service to him, he came and told me, that he was Billy, and the old servant of General Washington. He had been left there on account of an indisposition which prevented his attending his master. I asked him a great many questions, as you may suppose; but found very little satisfaction in his answers. At last, however, he told me that he had a small portmanteau of his master's, of which, when he found that he must be put into confinement, he entreated my care. It contained only a few stockings and shirts; and I could see nothing worth my care, except an almanack, in which he had kept a sort of a journal, or diary of his proceedings since his first coming to New-York: there were also two letters from his lady, one from Mr. Custis, and some

some pretty long ones from a Mr. Lund Washington. And in the same bundle with them, the first draughts, or foul copies, of answers to them. I read these with avidity; and being highly entertained with them, have shewn them to several of my friends, who all agree with me, that he is a very different character from what they had supposed him. I never knew a man so much to be pitied. If I remember right, you have seen, and have some knowledge of him; but it is impossible you could form so just an estimate of him as these letters will give you. They contain also, as you will find, a deal of information, not to be had any where else: I assure myself, therefore, you will thank me for the trouble I have taken in copying them for your perusal.

New-York, June 12, 1779.

TO MR. LUND WASHINGTON,

At Mount Vernon, Fairfax County, Virginia.

DEAR LUND,

THOUGH I wrote to you but a very few days ago, and have nothing new of much moment to communicate, I cannot deny myself the comfort of unburthening my mind to you, whenever I have a little leisure, amid the thousand anxieties and disquietudes that almost distract me. I know the goodness of your heart, and that you will attend to me with indulgence and sympathy, though it be not in your power any otherwise to afford me relief. There cannot, in the nature of things, be a situation so truly irksome to an ingenuous mind, as the being perpetually obliged to act a part foreign to our true feelings; yet this, alas! as you know, is, and must be, my lot. I wear a countenance dressed in the calm serenity of perfect confidence, whilst my heart is corroded with infinite apprehensions, and I have no bosom friend near me, to whom I dare lay it open. Tell me, Lund, for you have long been privy to my most secret thoughts,—trusting to
thy

thy native candour, I have never hesitated to lay my heart bare and open to thy inspection; tell me then, am I, do you think, more subject to fears than other men? For I will not conceal it from you, that, at this moment, I feel myself a very coward. Do not mistake me; I thank my God, I have never yet known what it was to fear for any personal danger that might befall me. I am not afraid to die, why should I? I am afraid only to die with infamy and disgrace. And, if I am afraid so to die, need I tell you that I am ten thousand times more afraid to live, like Lucifer, a fallen angel. No, Lund, that were too much; beside what will, I cannot, and I will not survive either my misfortunes, or my disgraces. Heaven, that knows how truly I love my country; and that I embarked in this arduous enterprize on the purest motives. But we have overshot our mark: we have grasped at things beyond our reach: it is impossible we should succeed; and I cannot, with truth, say that I am sorry for it; because I am far from being sure that we deserve to succeed. That the British Ministry had meditated schemes fatal to the liberties of America; and that, if we had not opposed

their first efforts to impose taxes upon us, without our consent, we might have bid adieu to every idea of constitutional security hereafter. I have not a doubt. Nay, I am so thoroughly persuaded of the unworthiness of their designs, and of the duty of every honest American to oppose them, that, dissatisfied as I am with my situation, were it to do over again, I would rather be even as I am, than tamely crouch, whilst chains were fastening round my neck. For there is not, in my estimation, so vile a thing upon earth, as a human being who, having once enjoyed liberty, can patiently bear to see it taken from him. I would, and I will die ten thousand deaths, rather than be this thing myself. On these principles, and these only, I first took up arms; but my misfortune, and the true source of all my uneasiness is, that though in good policy, as well as honour, these ought to be the principles of every American, I have long ago discovered they are not. And on this account alone, that I dread our defeat. Our want of skill, our want of ammunition, in short, our want of every thing which an army ought to have, are all, no doubt, exceedingly against us; but they are all nothing to our want of principle. I could not but hope that I was mistaken.

want of virtue—Unused to the many arts and devices, by which designing men carry their points, I unwillingly listened to my own apprehensions, when early in the first Congress, I thought I saw a tendency to measures which I never could approve of. I reasoned myself, however, out of my fears, with no ordinary reproach on my own meanness, in having given way to suspicions, which could not be true, unless we had men amongst ourselves more flagitious than even those we were opposing. At length, however, when a continental army came to be voted for, my fears returned with redoubled force: for then, for the first time, I clearly saw our aims reached farther than we cared to avow. It was carried with an unanimity that really astonished me; because I knew many who voted for it, were as averse to the independency of America, as I was. And they even ridiculed me for my apprehensions on that account; and, indeed, when they suggested that Great Britain, seeing us apparently determined to risque every thing rather than that they should tax us, would never think of engaging in a civil war with us, which must necessarily cost her more than even America could repay her, I could not but hope, that I was

mistaken; and that our military preparations might be a good political movement. In one thing, however, we all agreed, that, as the forces were chiefly to be raised in New-England, it would be extremely rash and imprudent in the southern delegates to leave them in the possession of so formidable a power without any check. I need not tell you, that it was this consideration which, if I am to be credited, solely against my will, determined me to accept of the command of this army. We set out with bad omens: I was mistrustful of them in every thing; and they were taught to look upon me with jealousy. This soon manifested itself in forming them to any thing like decent discipline. But I have, long ago, pestered you more than enough with complaints on this head. I knew not, however, certainly, that I had been appointed to this high station only to be disgraced and ruined, till about the middle and latter end of last February. When, contrary to my wishes, I found it absolutely necessary that we should come to open hostilities against our fellow-subjects in the ministerial army; doubtless, common prudence required that when we did attempt it, we should, if possible,

fible, do it speedily and effectually. And, having all the reason in the world to believe that large armies would be sent against us early in the summer, I resolved, cost what it would, to cut off those already here, which would have given us such infinite advantages over any future reinforcements that might be sent. And this I believed was easily in our power: but as I have already told you, nothing is to be done with our New England allies, unless they are let into all your secrets. I could not advance a step without communicating my intentions to the gentlemen in the civil department; a thing even ruinous in war. It soon got wind, as I had foreseen; and it appeared that the general of the enemy was apprized of my design. Still, however, I persevered in my purposes; which, in spite of all his care and caution, I was confident must succeed, and reduce him to the utmost extremity. But (as every military man must know) so capital a blow was not to be struck without the loss both of many men, and much property! For my design was, if they would not surrender by an honourable capitulation, to burn the town about their ears, and so rush in, and cut them off in their attempts to
 escape

escape to the ships. And this, with our superiority of numbers, we certainly could have effected; though, no doubt, it would have been a bloody business, if they had not surrendered as I think they would. But when, as I was obliged, I laid this before the Council and Representatives, they not only found a thousand objections to it, but absolutely restrained me; and I could not have got a man that would have gone on what they called so desperate a scheme. Hence was I under a necessity of proceeding in that poor, slow, and unsoldier-like manner, which not only gave them an opportunity to escape, but has taught them to despise us. There is no forming an idea of the importance of such a stroke at that juncture. If any thing upon earth could have made America independent and glorious, that was the golden opportunity. I confess to you, I had worked my imagination up to such a pitch of high expectation, that my disappointment has dispirited me in a manner I never can recover. For, from that moment, I have despaired of our ever doing any thing truly great. Any little gleams of success, or fairer prospects, we have since had, serve but to make our inferiority the more conspicuous.

For

For what incidents can fall out to aggrandize us, who can be made great only by great and spirited efforts, when we have shewn that we wanted both the understanding and the virtue to purchase to ourselves immortal glory on better and cheaper terms than ever we can hope hereafter to have it? But, the worst remains yet to be told. Some of those very men who were the most forward to thwart me in this measure, had discovered a different way of thinking on other occasions, and, I am persuaded that were the question put to them now, as to this city, and the southern regiments, I should not hear a dissentious voice. But, let me spare you.

After all this, you will again, I doubt not, as you often have, ask me why I continue in a situation so disagreeable to me? I wish you had forborne this question, the truth being, that I neither am able, nor very willing, to answer it. My resolution to hold it out as long as I can, is dictated by my feelings, which I neither can describe to you, nor wholly justify on paper: but which, however, I find it impossible for me to disregard.—The eyes of all America, perhaps,

haps, of Europe, of the world, are fixed on me. I has been our policy (and, at the time, I thought it well founded) to hold out false lights to the world. There are not a hundred men in America that know our situation; three-fourths of the Congress itself are ignorant of it:—yourself excepted, there lives not a man at all acquainted with my peculiar circumstances. The world looks upon us as in possession of an army all animated with the pure flame of liberty, and determined to die rather than not be free. It is in possession of proofs, that it is so, under my own hand: I have always so spoken of it, and I still do. But you know how remote, in my judgment, all this is from the truth; though I am not sure that there is another man in the army, besides myself, that thinks so. I should guess, however, that there are many. But, tied up as my mouth is, it is little to be wondered at that theirs are so too, at least to me.

— Thus circumstanced, can you point out a way in which it is possible for me to resign, just now, as it were, on the eve of action, without the imputation of cowardice? There

is

is no such way. Besides, diffident and desponding as I am, how do I know, that it is not so with those we have to oppose? They certainly have reason. The events of war depend on a thousand minutiae, without the ken of a mere by-stander. I know not that the commander of the armies of the low countries, could his heart have been read, as you do mine, had not the same fears and the same causes for them that I have. You learn not this from the history; nor was it to be expected you should. Yet, he succeeded at last. And, who knows, what an over-ruling Providence, who often brings about the greatest revolutions by the most unlikely means, may intend for America? If it be the will of God, that America should be independent of Great Britain, and that this be the season for it, even I and these unhopeful men around may not be thought unworthy instruments in his hands. And, should we succeed, we are heroes, and immortalized beyond even those of former times. Whereas disgrace only, and intolerable infamy await our retreat. In this persuasion, I resolve to go on, contented, with the glorious

glorious King William, to save my country, or
die in the last ditch.

I am, my dear Lund,

Your faithful Friend and Servant,

G. W.

TO JOHN PARKE CUSTIS, Esq.

At the Hon. Benedict Calvert's, Esq. Mount Airy, Maryland.

MY VERY DEAR JACK,

YOU have exceedingly obliged me by your
letter which I received by yesterday's
post. It discovers an attention to the great
affairs now carrying on, and an information
concerning them, which I own to you I had
not given you credit for. Your youth and
inexperience pleaded your excuse; and though
you gave me no opportunity to praise you for
any active exertions, I paid you no ordinary
compliments, in my own mind, for your mo-
desty in forbearing to meddle with things
which it was no reproach to you to confess,
were out of your reach. Considering your

rank, fortune, and education, whenever it is proper for you to come forward on the theatre, it must not be any underpart that you act. You are, therefore, certainly in the right to decline taking any part at all, till you are fit for a first and leading character. And you have my full and perfect approbation of your resolution to persist in your purpose, for the present, not to accept of any rank, civil or military. I see your anxiety, lest the present opportunity for signalizing your just love for your country should, by your unnecessary caution, be suffered to slip by you, unimproved. Your ardour is commendable; and far be it from me to discourage in you a spirit I so much love. But, whilst you retain these honourable principles, there is little danger of your wanting opportunities to call them forth into action. The momentous enterprise in which your country is engaged, is not to be accomplished in this or that year. If, in no longer a period than the siege of Troy, we bring all our mighty schemes to bear, it will be the greatest work that ever was perfected in so little a time. You have set your heart, you tell me, on a military employment. This is the usual bent

bent of young men; and, as it was my own, it will be with an ill grace, that I reprehend it in you. But, with the experience that I have had of it, I should be wanting in that love and esteem I owe you, should I hesitate to tell you that, as your father, there is not a possession you could have chosen in which I should not more cordially have concurred with you. Yet, I love arms; I am married to my sword, as well as to your amiable mother; and, herein is my witness, that I am in earnest when I say, death alone shall divorce me from either. I am not so blindly devoted, however, to my profession, as not to see by how frail a tenure I hold the little reputation I have in it. As a statesman, as a senator, it is in the general, sufficient that you mean well, that you are careful to qualify yourself to form a right judgment of the true interests of your country, and that, with the honest impartiality of a free man, you have still exerted your best endeavours to promote those interests. But, with a soldier, success alone is merit; and there is nothing that can atone for the want of it. The world is a worse judge of military matters than any other. It would astonish you,

to

to find, on a minute comparison, how very little difference there was in the skill and spirit which guided Braddock and Wolfe in the last actions of their lives. But how different has been their fate!—I think I am not without some talents for the line of life which has fallen to my lot. But opposed as I must be by men, probably of infinitely superior skill, and encompassed moreover with such hosts of other difficulties and discouragements as I am, it is not mine to command success, and when either my cotemporaries, or future historians, shall sit in judgment on my conduct, if, haply, ill fortune should overtake me, seeing our miscarriages only, and having neither curiosity nor ability to investigate the thousand causes which led to them, am I not too well warranted in concluding, that they will be attributed to mismanagement? Have I not then reason to wish that your choice had fallen on the quieter but not less important calling of a private gentleman; in which, as a senator, you might have given proof of your abilities, in a way, in which fortune would not have had so great a share? But

C. 17

notwithstanding all this, and if after all, you be irrevocably determined to try your fortune in the field, and you can gain your mother's and your wife's consent, I here give it you under my hand, that you shall not want mine. Most certainly there cannot be a more honourable employment: and if, (which Heaven avert) Fortune should declare against you, my consolation will be, that I can assure myself, you will deserve to be successful. I will, on the opening of the next campaign, procure you an appointment to the command of a regiment, either here, or in the southern wing. And, if my opinion may have any weight with you, you will for many reasons, prefer the being stationed in some of the southern states. There is no fear of its being an inactive station. I have little expectation that this year will close with aught considerably decisive on either side; and if our enemies be able to hold out another campaign, it is most likely their policy will be, by means of their naval superiority, to carry on a kind of an incurfive war, by making unexpected descents in different and distant places. Meanwhile, permit me to press you to persevere in

your

your attention to military matters. The manual exercise, which you were so justly diligent to learn, whilst I was with you, is but the A, B, C, of your profession. Neither will you profit so much as you might reasonably expect, from the study of those authors, who have written professedly on the art of war. This is like the learning the game of Whist by reading Hoyle. I have been witness to the mischievous effects of it. A man, book-learned only, does very well in the still scenes of marchings and encampments. But when, in the various bustles of actual war, a cause arises, as must often be the case, not described in his books, he is utterly at a loss. I would not, however, have you to understand me as if I meant to discourage your reading these books at all; so far from it, I would have you read them very often, and make yourself acquainted with the subject, as much as you can in theory. My caution meant only to guard you against placing too much reliance on them.— Their best commentators, next to your own experience, will be, the historians of Greece and Rome; which it is your happiness to be able to read in the originals. But, the main and

most essential qualification is an high sense of honour, an elevation of sentiment, and a certain dignified stile of behaviour, that distinguishes, or should distinguish, a soldier from every other man. It is a shame indeed, if he who undertakes to command others, has not first learned to command himself: I will not endure any thing mean or sordid either in your principles, or your manners; having determined, if it were left with me, to be as strict and rigorous in these particulars, as were the knights of old, when a candidate was to be invested with the orders of chivalry. I cannot dissociate the ideas between a soldier and a gentleman: and however common it may be to give that last appellation to persons of every character, it yet conveys to me an idea of worth, I want words to express. I am not solicitous to pay you compliments, even by implication; but, I may certainly be permitted to say, that if I had not known you to be a gentleman, you never should have had my consent to your becoming a soldier.

Your observations on this important contest are just and accurate, and discover a reach

of thought, and a penetration beyond what I had expected of you. What you say on the subject of independency is perfectly judicious, and, no doubt, highly worthy of all our most serious consideration. Yet, I have a presentiment, that it will take place, and speedily. Open and unreserved as my conduct towards you has ever been, I have no reluctance to confess to you, that the measure is diametrically opposite to my judgment; for I have not yet despaired of an honourable reconciliation; and whilst I can entertain but an hope of that, both interest and inclination lead me to prefer it to every thing else upon earth. Human affairs are oddly ordered: To obtain what you most wish for, you must often make use of means you the least approve of.

As in bargaining, to obtain a fair and equal price, you must frequently ask more than you wish to take. I do not really wish for independence. I hope there are few who do; but I have never heard the reasonings of those who have proved that, if we did not declare for it we should fail to obtain the constitutional subordination to which we are entitled, fairly

refuted. I would not have you, therefore, hastily conclude that if, in this struggle, we fall short of every thing we have claimed; we are worsted: perhaps, the very worst thing that could befall us, is, that we should gain all. —I do assure you that, in my opinion, the next misfortune to that of being thrust from our just rank in the order of freemen, would be the giving us up, and leaving us to ourselves. But, this Great Britain will never do, voluntarily: for, if even she does, whatever may become of us, from that moment she may date the commencement of her own downfall.

I am exceedingly happy in the becoming moderation which you observe and endeavour to introduce towards the unhappy men whose political creeds differ from ours. But for this blot in her scutcheon, thrown on her by two many of her rash and unworthy advocates, by a contrary conduct, this effort of America would have done her honour, even though she had failed. I am shocked at the instances of intolerance I daily hear of, and have no power to

to prevent. But like the other evils of war, it is a calamity that unavoidably grows out of such a convulsion; and one might as well hope to stem the fury of a torrent, as to give laws to an enraged people. It is, however, the duty of every true friend to liberty, by every gentle and conciliatory means in his power to restrain it. And, I am happy to find this sentiment daily becoming more general amongst us. All things considered, I cannot but think it not a little to our honour that things have not been carried to still a greater height in this way.

Remember me affectionately to Nelly; and tell her, that though I should be most happy to see her, I may not hope for that happiness speedily: as the din of arms, I imagine, would be but unpleasing entertainment to her; and I have little prospect of any leisure, at least before we go into winter quarters. I hope Mr. Calvert, and all the family are well: I beg to be remembered to them. I will write to your mother in a few days. You are very good in leaving her alone as little as may be. Continue to write to me frequently, freely, and fully;

the hearing of my dearest friends and family's welfare being the only true happiness I have any chance to enjoy amidst the perpetual hurry in which I live.

I am, my dear Jack,

Your very affectionate friend and father,

Geo. Washington.

June 18, 1776.

New-York, July 3, 1776.

TO MR. LUND WASHINGTON,

At Mount-Vernon, Fairfax County, Virginia.

DEAR LUND,

WE are still going on with all imaginable briskness and success with our works, which I think are already impregnable. It would really astonish you to see the progress we have made. I do not believe that all history can furnish a precedent of so much being done in so little a time, or in so masterly a manner, where you had so little right to look for consummate skill. If in every thing else, we could but come up to our exertions in these fortifications, I should hardly know how to doubt
the

the judgment of those who think that we may bid defiance to the world. But, I know not how it is, I am diffident of every thing. Whilst almost every body else seem to have persuaded themselves, that we have nothing to fear, I alone torment myself with thinking that every thing is against us. Even from these very works which have inspired us with such confidence, I anticipate only misfortune and disgrace. By this time the die is cast, and America is authoritatively declared free and independent; and unless we can be contented to appear ridiculous in the eyes of all the world, we must resolve to support this declaration by a suitable conduct; we must fight our way to freedom and independency; for in no other way shall we be permitted to obtain it, farther than words.

A war, therefore, and a most serious one, is now inevitable. Next to good finances, which it is not my province to provide for, a good army is, doubtless, a main requisite to the carrying on a successful war. And a good army is by no means secured, as some seem to reckon, by securing a large number of men. We want soldiers,

soldiers, and between these, and raw, undisciplined men, there is a wide difference.

The question then is, how are these raw and undisciplined men to be formed into good soldiers? And I am free to give it as my opinion, that so far from contributing to this, will strong holds, fortified posts, and deep intrenchments be found, that they will have a direct contrary effect. To be a soldier, is to be inured to, and familiar with danger; to dare to look your enemy in the face, unsheltered and exposed to their fire, and even when repulsed, to rally again with undiminished spirit. The Indian maxim is, that it is equally your duty to take care of yourself, and annoy your enemy. To a general, this may not be an unusual caution; but I will venture to assert, that whenever a private sentinel allows himself to act on this principle, the odds are, that, in the moment of trial, in his exceeding solicitude not to forget the former, the latter will be but little attended to. Now, what I ask, are all these mighty ditches and breast-works, but so many lessons and admonitions to our men of what prodigious importance it is to take care
of

of themselves? It would be almost worth our while to be defeated, if it were only to train us to stand fire, and to bear a reverse of fortune with a decent magnanimity. If it had not been for this ill-judged humour of fighting from behind a screen, the 19th of April, and 27th of June last year, might have been the happiest days America ever saw. All these things have I, again and again, represented to my masters; I am ashamed to say, to how little purpose.— They return me answers and instructions, which though I cannot refute, have not yet convinced what I would call the feelings of my own mind.

This day week, the enemy's fleet was first descried off Sandy-Hook. They have been employed since then, in debarking their troops on Staten-Island, where they are cantoned, as far as I can judge, in a very uncompact and unguarded manner. I cannot exactly ascertain their number, but I have reason to believe, that they fall short of seven thousand. It is more extraordinary still, that I am not able to inform you of the exact number of forces under my own command: I fancy, however, we
might

might bring into the field, at this place, double their number at a minute's warning; and with this superiority of numbers, making all possible allowances for our other disadvantages, one would hope we might be able to give a good account of them. You, who are sanguine in the extreme, and all impatience, will eagerly ask, why we suffered them to land unmolested, and to remain so ever since? What excellent expeditions your fire-side generals can instantly plan and execute! But you forget that they are posted on an island, and that we have no way of coming at them unless they would lend us their ships and boats, which I have not presumed to ask of them. Aware, however, of the importance of falling on them, whilst there is a chance of doing it with success, and ere they become a match for us, by reinforcements, which they daily expect, I have formed a scheme, which, at least, is plausible, and promises fair to be successful. I have submitted it to Congress, and every moment expect their answer; and if they will but support me with alacrity, and in good earnest, my next, I trust, will not be so desponding. I expect to be all
ready

ready to put my plan in execution on Tuesday, or at farthest, on Wednesday night; so that probably, at the very moment you are reading this, we may be engaged in a very different service. You will, no doubt, be impatient to hear from me as soon as may be after Wednesday, and I will not disappoint you. Meanwhile I shall not need to tell you, that, and how it will, all that I freely chatter to you, is to remain a profound secret to every body else.

Doctor, now Brigadier General Mercer, is here, and is a great comfort to me. Like myself, he wants experience; but he is very shrewd and sensible, and though a Scotchman, is remarkably humane and liberal. I have communicated the whole of my design to him alone; and am not ashamed to own, that I have received much assistance from him. I know not how it may turn out; but though neither he nor I are very apt to be sanguine, we have both confessed to be so on this occasion. Animated, however, as I feel myself with the near prospect of at length doing something, not unworthy the high rank to which I am raised, I

own

own to you, I take a serious pleasure in it, only as it flatters me with hope of thereby obtaining a speedier and happier peace. Let us, since war must be our lot, distinguish ourselves as free-men should, in fields of blood, still remembering, however, that we fight not for conquest, but for liberty.

I am, with the truest esteem,

Dear Lund,

Your faithful friend and servant,

G. W.

New-York, July 16, 1776.

TO MR. LUND WASHINGTON, &c,

DEAR LUND,

HOW cruelly are all my hopes in one sad moment blasted and destroyed! I am positively ordered to wait for the enemy in our lines;

lines; and lest I should be mad enough not to obey their mandates, not a single title of any thing I had asked for, is granted. Thus has a second opportunity of rendering my country an essential service, in the way of my profession, been unwisely, and in the most mortifying manner denied me. I profess I hardly know how to bear it: having to regret, not only that two opportunities, such as may never again occur, have been suffered to pass by us unimproved, but that none can happen, we can improve. Managed as matters are, we neither are nor ever shall be, a military people; and yet, in the train in which things are now put, unless we are, it were idiotism to hope for either freedom or independence.

I remember well, in a conversation I once had with a friend, now, most unjustly as well as unwisely, driven from his friends and his home, on the subject of monarchies and republics, he objected to the unavoidable slowness and dilatoriness of the executive power in the latter. Aiming to answer him in his own way, I replied that, if popular councils were slow,

flow, they yet were sure, and that *in the multitude of counsellors there is safety*. His answer was prophetic. If ever (he said) we of these countries should rashly put these things to the proof, it would be found, that, however true this adage might be in the cabinet, it was not so in the field. Convinced, by melancholy experience, that this is the case, and, that without some different system, we shall but expose ourselves to contempt and ruin, I resolve this evening honestly and openly to say so to the Congress. I will go farther, and add, that if they cannot in fact, as well as in appearance, trust me with the uncontrouled command of their army, I will no longer be their puppet. Why should I? it being now morally certain that by going on as we have hitherto done, I can neither bring honour nor profit to them; and yet am sure to lose all the little of either which I have, or might have, possessed.

I want words to express to you what I have felt, and still do feel on this disappointment of all my hopes: I had allowed myself to build

too much on my scheme : and I seem to be in the situation of one who should be allowed to rise, on purpose only to be thrown down. The enemy, in the midst of all our blusterings, must despise us; and did not shame, or some better principle restrain them, I should be but little surprised to find General Howe, even with his present little handful, attacking us; yes, attacking us in our entrenchments.—What shall I do? To retreat is to entail on myself the curses of every public man in my country; and to go on is certain ruin and disgrace. Were the world to know only my true history on this trying occasion, I persuade myself, all the candid and considerate in it would acquit me of blame. But this the world can know only by my resolving to tell a tale, which, considering the rank I now hold in it, must involve my country in such internal broils and quarrels, as must be fatal to the glorious cause in which we have embarked. And this, I trust, I shall have the virtue never to do, be my private wrongs and sufferings ever so great.

I have finished my letter to the Congress, to whom I have, at length, spoken in a more per-

D

emptory

empty tone, than, I fancy, they have been used to. It was absolutely necessary ; and I should ill deserve their confidence, if through any mistaken complaisance or diffidence, I hesitated to point out to them the mischievous consequences of their interference. I have also insisted on precise instructions in what manner I am to conduct myself towards the British commissioners, if peradventure, as is probable, their overtures should be made through me. Their answer will have a great influence on all my future measures ; as I shall then know, (and surely it is time I should) on what ground I stand. The very decided and adventurous measure, which Congress itself has just taken, is big with the most important consequences, not only to the community at large, but to every man in it. The temper and judgment which they shall now manifest, on their first avowed assumption of the reins of government, will be indicative of what we may hereafter expect. Hoping for the best, I yet will watch them most carefully.

'Tis all fearful expectation : every man I see,
seems to be employed in preparing himself for
the

the momentous rencounter, which every man persuades himself must shortly come on. There is an ostensible eagerness and impetuosity amongst us, I could willingly have excused: I should have been better pleased with that steady composure which distinguishes veterans. One thing is in our favour, the passions of our soldiery are seldom suffered to subside; being constantly agitated by some strange rumour or other. Happen what will, it can hardly be more extraordinary, than some one or other is perpetually presaging. And, we have already performed such feats of valour whilst we have no enemies to engage but such as our own imaginations manufacture for us; that I cannot but hope we shall do well, merely because no one ever seems to entertain a suspicion that we shall not. I can, as yet, give no guess, where or when they will approach us: I conclude, however, that they will hardly stir, till they are joined by all the men they expect: desponding as I am, I wish they were arrived; and that, at this moment they were in a condition to attack us. They may gain by procrastination, but we are sure to lose.

I wrote to Mrs. Washington lately, and shall again in a week or two, if I do not hear of her, ere that in Philadelphia. It has surprised me, that after what I wrote, she should hesitate. I beg of you, if she be still fearful, to second my persuasions by every means in your power. Exposed as she must be to so many interviews with people in the army, all of whom are in the way of the small pox, I have the most dreadful apprehensions on her account. I know not well how the notion came into my head, but it is certain, I have, for several days, persuaded myself that she is already inoculated, and that out of tendernefs and delicacy, she forbears to inform me of it, till she can also inform me she is out of danger.

I note fundry particulars in your letter, to which I am not solicitous to give you answers. Why, when you have so often asked in vain, will you press me for Congress secrets? Whatever your or my private sentiments or wishes may be, it is sufficient for us that we know the highest authority in our country has declared it free and independent. All that is left for us to do is, as far as we can, to support this declaration,

declaration, without too curiously enquiring into either its wisdom or its justice. I firmly believe, that the advocates for this measure meant well; and I pay them but an ordinary compliment in thinking that they were fitter to determine on a point of this sort, than either you or I are. At any rate, the world must allow it to be a spirited measure; and all I have to wish for is, that we may support it with a suitable spirit.

I am, my dear Lund,

Yours most affectionately,

G. W.

New York, July 15, 1776.

TO MR. LUND WASHINGTON, &c.

DEAR LUND,

LAST Friday, the British fleet was seen off Staten Island; they have since been employed, uninterrupted by us, in debarking their men, stores, &c. And as they must now, I should imagine, be pretty nearly as strong as
D 3
they

they expect to be this campaign, no doubt we shall soon hear of their motions. I have reason to believe, their first essay will not be on this, but on Long Island; where injudiciously, I think, we also are, or soon shall be in force. Yet, if we do but act our parts as becomes us, be the issue as it may, we shall at least give them no pleasing earnest of what they have to expect in the course of the war. But there is no relying on any plan that is to be executed by raw men,

You have heard much of the powers with which commissioners were to be invested, for the purpose of settling this dispute. Like most other things belonging to it, these too have made a much greater figure in talk, than they do in fact. There are but two commissioners, the two Howes; and their powers are extremely vague and undefined. It is a pity, methinks, that Congress had not had better information on this subject; if they had, it is to be presumed, they would not have precipitated the declaration of independency, so as to preclude all possibility of negociation. I may venture to whisper in your ear, that this excepted, I firmly believe,

believe, that America might have carried every other point; and, certainly, there was a time when this would have been deemed a conquest beyond the warmest wishes of the warmest American. Whether in the present posture of affairs, it still be so, is another question; I can answer only for myself, that I would not even ask so much. Different men will judge differently with respect to this conduct, on the part of Great Britain; I own I am bewildered and puzzled to account for it. After such an astonishing expence as they have been at, and with such fair prospects as they have before them of being soon in a capacity to prescribe their own terms, it certainly is extraordinary to find them condescending to be friends with us, on conditions as mortifying and degrading to them as they are flattering to us. I can account for it but in one way; I really ascribe it to their magnanimity. It must be an unpleasant contest to the nation; I say the nation; for however expedient it may be for us to have it called a ministerial war, no man who knows any thing of the English government, can imagine, that the ministry could have moved a step in it,

if it had not been the sense of the nation. It must, too, be a most fruitless, and unprofitable war; since every advantage they can gain, must in fact be a loss, as being gained over themselves. No wonder, therefore, they have been slow and backward to enter into it; no wonder they would be glad to be well rid of it on almost any terms. I have ever been of this opinion, and it was this persuasion alone that reconciled me to the measure of taking up arms. I see, however, the world around me viewing it in a different light: every concession that is made to us, they attribute to timidity only, and despondency. I own appearances make for this conjecture; and, no doubt, Congress will give it its sanction.

I have not adopted this opinion, that we might have peace with Great Britain, on terms which would once have been thought most honourable, on slight grounds. Yesterday, a letter was brought to me, making overtures for a negotiation, from Lord Howe. I had expected it; and had my instructions. It was addressed to me, as I had foreseen as in my private

private character only. On the ground of independency, if we chose to maintain it, this was not a mere matter of punctilio; it was the critical moment of trial, whether we would assert, or recede from our pretensions. Never did men sit in debate on a question of higher magnitude: and, when they had once determined to declare their country free, I see not why they might not support this their declaration, by this as well as other means. A contrary conduct would certainly have indicated some want of firmness. Yet I confess to you, I felt awkward upon the occasion. The punctilio seemed, and it could not but seem, to be my own: and as such it looked, methought, as though I were proud of my titles. Put yourself in my place, and see me, longing as you know I do most earnestly for peace, yet turning my back on a gentleman, whom I had reason to consider as the harbinger of it, only because he asked for *Mr.* and not, *General Washington*. How often it is my lot to find it my indispensable duty to act a part contrary to both my own sentiments and inclinations! But, if I mistake not, it is in such instances only,

only, that, properly speaking, we manifest our fortitude and magnanimity.

I shall astonish you, when I inform you, that this first rebuff abated not the ardour of the noble commissioner. His deputy paid us a second visit, and vouchsafed to honour me with the appellation of General. What name will you give to this condescension? I own it hurt me; and has well nigh led me into a train of thinking very different from all my former opinions. The gentleman who brought the message, is a Colonel Patterson, Adjutant-General, and a sensible well informed man. He requested to speak to me alone; and I was glad he did. After the first salutations, he told me the purport of the letter which had been refused; and his errand now was to ask me to point out the most eligible means of opening a negotiation, for the purpose of accommodating the unhappy dispute. I replied that I knew of but one way; and that was by application to Congress. He said, the King's Commissioners would have no objection to treating with
the

the members who composed the Congress, provided only that they came with legal authority from the regular legislatures of their respective countries. I answered, they, doubtless, would come with such authority; as, indeed, they could come with no other. I evidently saw his drift in the exception, as he did mine: and to put a stop to all possibility of mistake; he declared it impossible for his masters ever to acknowledge the Congress, as such, a legal, and constitutional body of men, and as it seemed to be rather a punctilio of pride, than of any real importance, he hoped it might be waved. I stared: How, Sir, have you not already acknowledged the powers of Congress, by acknowledging the honourable rank I hold, and which I hold from them, and them only? That, said he, was the concession merely of politeness; and made for the purpose only of getting access to me; and he was persuaded, I was too sensible a man to lay any stress on so mere a trifle. I thanked him for his compliment, but assured him, that I meant to lay the most serious stress on it. If he really had that opi-

nion

nion of my understanding, which he was pleased then to express, he must have supposed, that though a trifle in itself, it ceased to be so after I had made a point of it.

Words could not have told him more strongly that our resolutions were to assert and maintain our independency. And if the Commissioners of the King of Great-Britain found themselves either unable or unwilling to give up this, as a preliminary article, they, and he, must pardon me for saying, that I could but think them very idly employed in soliciting an interview with me. On this he prepared to take his leave, first adding, with a degree of sharpness and animation, that I own affected me:—Sir, said he, you are pleased to be cavalier with me: I consider you as a well-meaning—I wish I could say, well-informed man; yet, I am mistaken, if your head, as well as your heart, would not, at this moment, dictate a very different language. There may be heroism, for aught I know, in desperately resolving to go all lengths with the men with whom you have connected

connected yourself; but it is madness: and you may be thankful if posterity gives no worse a name to a man who has no judgment of his own. Wrong, Sir, your judgment no longer. We certainly stooped as low as the proudest wrong-head among you could ask us; but, if you really think, as you seem to affect to do, that we have made these overtures either from meanness, from a distrust of our cause, or our ability to make good our just claims, you are out in all your reckoning. That the mean and narrow-minded leaders of your councils may disseminate such opinions, in your unhappy country, I can easily suppose; but remember, Sir, you, and your party, owe some account to the world! and when the world shall come to know your infatuated insolence in this instance before us, as know it they must, think how you will excuse yourselves? I replied with no less warmth, nor I trust, dignity. I was, indeed, stung: for after once having owned me as a General, you must confess there was something singularly contemptuous in presuming thus to school me. A few personal civilities put an end to the conference.

I have

I have transmitted a faithful account of it to Congress; but, as I can hardly suppose they will judge it expedient to make it public, I thought, I owed to you, not wholly to disappoint your curiosity. You will not, however, need me to caution you to be secret, as well on this as on other things, which I write to you.

One thing more I must not omit to mention to you. In my conference with Colonel Patterson, I thought I could discover that it was intended I should be impressed with a persuasion that the Commissioners thought not unfavourably of our pretensions, as urged in the beginning of the dispute. This is to be accounted for. They are Whigs; and if I am rightly informed, the General owes his seat in Parliament to the interest of the dissenters. But why approve of our first pretensions only? Surely if we were then right, we are not now wrong: I mean as to what we have a right to, by the principles of the constitution; the expediency of our measures is now out of question. I cannot dissociate the ideas between
our

our having a right of resistance in the case of taxation, and the same right in the case of legislating for us. You know I am no deep casuist in political speculations, but, having happily been brought up in revolution principles, I thought I trod surely when I traced the footsteps of those venerable men. Wonderful! These too are the principles of our opponents; so that all our misfortune and fault is the having put in practice the very tenets which they profess to embrace.

But, I shall exhaust your patience; which I should not do, foreseeing as I do, that I shall, hereafter, have occasion to put it to the trial.

I am with the truest regard,

Dear Lund, Yours, &c.

G. W.

New-York, July 22, 1776.

TO MR. LUND WASHINGTON, &c.

I WISH I could say I thoroughly approved of all the new regulations in the new institution of government in my native state. It could, however,

however, hardly have been expected that a reformation so capital and comprehensive should be perfect at first; the wonder is, it is not still more exceptionable. My heart glows with unusual warmth when I advert, as I often do, to that pure and disinterested ardour which must have animated the bulk of my countrymen throughout the whole of this controversy. There may be exceptions amongst us, and, no doubt, there are; but it is not fair to infer this from our uncommon impetuosity and violence. This one would wish restrained, but by no means extirpated; for is it not the effect of a highly agitated public spirit; the mere effervescence of good principles thrown into a state of strong fermentation? And, surely, even precipitancy is preferable to the spirit-breaking cautions of chill despondency. Yet I am no advocate, in general, either for rash measures, or rash men; but at such a conjuncture as this, men had need to be stimulated by some more active principle than cool and sober reason. They must be enthusiasts, or they will continue to be slaves.

I gave

I gave this in answer to my friend Mr. Carter's objections to the first procedures of the new government. No doubt, Henry is, in many respects, the unfittest man in the state for Governor of Virginia. He has no property, no learning, but little good sense, and still less virtue or public spirit; but he is the idol of the people; and as it is by their means only that you can hope to effect the grand schemes which you have meditated, you must humour them, and indulge them with their rattle. They will soon tire of him; and the opportunity must then be watched gently to lead them to a better choice; for they may be led, though they cannot be driven. And though it be, alas! but too true, that they often mistake their real interests, I am of opinion they never mistake them long. Sooner or later, they will judge and act from their settled feelings, and these I take it are generally founded in their settled interests. When great enterprizes are to be performed, we may well dispense with some little errors in judgment; when without that, we have, in its stead, that which perhaps we could not have with it; I mean, that un-

E

disciplined

disciplined ardour which is infinitely better adapted to our purposes.

There cannot be a more striking instance that the judgment of the people may, in general, be safely trusted, in the long run, than is to be met with in Virginia. Very few countries have to boast of more men of respectable understandings; I know of none that can produce a family, all of them distinguished as clever men, like our Lees. They are all of them the very men one would wish for to take the lead of a willing multitude; for they are certainly men of shining talents, and their talents are of that particular kind which usually render men popular. No men were more so, than the men in question once were. It is obvious, this is no longer the case; and the reason must be that they are no longer worthy of it. With all their cleverness, they are selfish in the extreme. The people, at length, found this out; or, no doubt, R. H. Lee would have now been governor, the grand object of all his aims.

You would be mortified to hear the criticisms which are common here on Henry's inau-

inauguration speech. It is, indeed, a poor and pitiful performance; and yet I can believe that, set off by his smooth and oily delivery, it would appear clever when he spoke it. Why did he not ask Mr. Page to prepare it for him? there is not a man in America more capable. The counsellors of state are certainly irreproachable, and will do honour to those who appointed them. I am particularly pleased with the success of my honest brother-in-law Bat Dandridge; and the pleasure is not lessened by the assurance he makes me, that my letters were serviceable to him, there being but few men whom I love more than I do him. As you are soon to go down the country, you will see him; and therefore spare me the trouble of writing, particularly to him. My friends must now be so indulgent to me, as to wave the matter of compliment: I think myself happy, whenever I can write as I should, on urgent business. You know how ticklish my situation is; little as one would think there is to be envied in it, I yet am envied. And though, in all good reason, their fears should take a direct contrary course, there are men who are for ever suggesting suspicions and jealousies of the army and its

commander. My own heart assures me I mean them no ill: however, if I really have the influence and ascendancy which they suppose, I will for their sakes, as well as my own, hereafter maintain it at some little cost. A thousand considerations determine me to strain every nerve to prevent the army's being under any other controul, whilst I live. Let a persuasion of the necessity of this, if occasion should arise, be seasonably urged in my native state; and in the mean while, let some more than ordinary pains be taken to make me popular. Their own honour and interest are both concerned in my being so. Shew this to Mr. Dandridge; and, as you both can enter into my meaning, even from the most distant hints, I can rest satisfied, that you will do every thing I wish you.

We have lately had a general review; and I have much pleasure in informing you, that we made a better appearance, and went through our exercises more like soldiers, than I had expected. The Southern states are rash and blameable in the judgment they generally form of their brethren of the four New-England states; I do assure you, with all my partiality
for

for my own countrymen, and prejudices against them, I cannot but consider them as the flower of the American army. They are a strong, vigorous, and hardy people, inured to labour and toil; which our people seldom are. And though our hot and eager spirits may, perhaps, suit better in a sudden and desperate enterprise, yet in the way in which wars are now carried on, you must look for permanent advantages only from that patient and persevering temper, which is the result of a life of labour. The New-Englanders are cool, considerate and sensible; whilst we are all fire and fury: like their climate, they maintain an equal temperature, whereas we cannot shine, but we burn. They have a uniformity and stability of character, to which the people of no other states have any pretensions; hence they must, and will always preserve their influence in this great Empire. Were it not for the drawbacks and the disadvantages, which the influence of their popular opinions, on the subject of government, have on their army, they soon might, and probably would, give law to it.— If General Putnam had the talents of Mr. S.

Adams, or Mr. Adams had his, perhaps, even at this moment, this had not been matter of conjecture. But Putnam is a plain, blunt, undesigning old fellow, whose views reach no further than the duties of his profession; he is, indeed, very ignorant; yet, I find him a useful officer; and chiefly because he neither plagues me nor others, with wrangling claims of privileges. I owe him, too, no small acknowledgments, for the fairness of his accounts. I could open to you some strange scenes in this way. Some people seem to have gotten such a habit of cheating government, that, though sufficiently conscientious in other respects, they really are far less scrupulous in their manner of charging, than, I think, becomes them. But, as I have often told you, General Mercer is the man on whom these states must rest their hopes. The character that one of his countrymen gave to the Pretender, fits him exactly: "He is the most cautious man I ever saw, not to be a coward; and the bravest, not to be rash." In my judgment, he is not inferior to General Lee, in military knowledge; and, in almost every

every thing else, he is, infinitely, his superior. Yet the overbearing virtues of this last named gentleman are useful to us, especially at our setting out: we wanted not the sober and slow deductions of argument and reason; and Lee, like the author of Common Sense, has talents perfectly formed to dazzle and confound.

I thank you for your care in making the remittances you mention to Messrs. Carey and Co. I sincerely wish they may arrive safe: as I certainly owe it to them, to take every step in my power to make them easy. There is a pleasure in doing as one ought, in little as well as great affairs: but, in my present circumstances, I should often want this pleasure, were it not for your affectionate assiduity, and truly friendly attention. God bless you, my dear friend, for every instance of your care and concern for me.

I am, &c.

G. W.

TO MRS. WASHINGTON.

June 24, 1776.

MY DEAREST LIFE AND LOVE,

YOU have hurt me, I know not how much, by the insinuation in your last, that my letters to you have lately been less frequent, because I have felt less concern for you. The suspicion is most unjust; may I not add, it is most unkind? Have we lived, now almost a score of years, in the closest and dearest conjugal intimacy to so little purpose that, on an appearance only of inattention to you, and which you might have accounted for in a thousand ways more natural and more probable, you should pitch upon that single motive which alone is injurious to me? I have not, I own, wrote so often to you as I wished and as I ought. But think of my situation, and then ask your heart, if I be *without excuse*. We are not, my dearest, in circumstances the most favourable to our happiness; but let us not, I beseech you, idly make them worse, by indulging suspicions and apprehensions which minds in
distress

distress are but too apt to give way to. I never was, as you have often told me, even in my better and more disengaged days, so attentive to the little punctilios of friendship, as, it may be, became me: but, my heart tells me, there never was a moment in my life, since I first knew you, in which it did not cleave and cling to you with the warmest affection: and it must cease to beat ere it can cease to wish for your happiness, above any thing on earth.

I congratulate you most cordially on the fair prospect of recovery of your amiable daughter-in-law; nor can I wonder, that this second loss of a little one should affect you; I fear the fatigues of the journey, and the perpetual agitations of a camp, were too much for her.— They are, however, both young and healthy; so that there can be little doubt of their soon repairing the loss.

And now will my dearest love permit me, a little more earnestly than I have ever yet done, to press you to consent to that so necessary, so safe and so easy, though so dreadful a thing—

thing—the being inoculated? It was always adviseable; but at this juncture it seems to be almost absolutely necessary.

I am far from sure, that that restless madman, our quondam Governor, from the mere lust of doing mischief, will not soon betake himself to the carrying on a prædatory war in our rivers. And as Patomack will certainly be thought most favourable for his purposes, as affording him scope to keep without the reach of annoyance, I have little reason to flatter myself that it would not be particularly pleasing to him, to vent his spite at my house. Let him; it would affect me only as it might affect you; and, for this reason, among others, I wish you out of his reach. Yet I think I would not have you quit your house, professedly, from an apprehension of a visit from him. An appearance of fearfulness and timidity, even in a woman of my family, might have a bad effect; but, I must be something more or less than man, not to wish you out of the way of a danger, which, to say the least, must be disagreeable to you, and could do good to no one. All this makes for
your

your going to Philadelphia, a place of perfect security; and it would almost be worth while to be inoculated, if it were only for the fair pretence it furnishes you with of quitting Virginia, at a time when I could not but be exceedingly uneasy at your remaining in it. But I flatter myself, any further argument will be unnecessary, when I shall add, as I now do, that till you have had the small-pox, anxiously as else I should wish for it, I never can think of consenting to your passing the winter here in quarters with me.

I would have Lund Washington immediately remove all the unmarried and suspicious of the slaves to the quarters in Frederick. The harvesting must be got in by hirelings. Let him not keep any large stock of grain trod out, especially at the mill, or within the reach of water carriage: and in particular, let as little as may be, be left at Clifton's quarters. It will not be too late, even in the first week of July, to sow the additional supply of hemp and flax seed, which Mr. Mifflin has procured for me in Philadelphia; and which I hope will be with you before this letter. For obvious

vious reasons, you will not sow it on the island, nor by the water-side. But I hope you will have a good account of your crop on the Ohio. If Bridgey continues refractory and riotous, though I know you can ill spare him, let him, by all means, be sent off, as I hope Jack Custis's boy Joe already is, for his sauciness at Cambridge.

My attention is this moment called off to the discovery, or pretended discovery, of a plot. It is impossible, as yet, to develop the mystery in which it either is, or is supposed to be involved. Thus much only I can find out with certainty, that it will be a fine field for a war of lies on both sides. No doubt it will make a good deal of noise in the country; and there are many who think it useful to have the minds of the people kept constantly on the fret by rumours of this sort. For my part, I who am said to be the object principally aimed at in it, find myself perfectly at my ease; and I have mentioned it to you only from an apprehension that, hearing it from others and not from me, you might imagine I was in the midst of danger that I knew not of.

The

The perpetual solicitude of your poor heart about me, is certainly highly flattering to me; yet I should be happy to be able to quiet your fears. Why do you complain of my reserve? Or, how could you imagine that I distrusted either your prudence or your fidelity? I have the highest opinion of them both. But why should I tease you with tedious schemes of views which are perpetually varying, and which therefore might, not improbably, mislead, where I meant to inform you? Suffice it that I say, what I have often before told you, that, as far as I have the controul of them, all our preparations of war aim only at peace.—Neither do I, at this moment, see the least likelihood of there being any considerable military operations this season; and, if not in this season, certainly in no other. It is impossible to suppose, that, in the leisure and quiet of winter quarters, men will not have virtue to listen to the dictates of plain common sense and sober reason. The only true interest of both sides is reconciliation; nor can there be a point in the world clearer, than that both sides must be losers by war, in a manner which even peace

will not soon compensate for. We must, at last, agree and be friends; for we cannot live without them, and they will not without us; and a bye-stander might well be puzzled to find out, why as good terms cannot be given and taken now, as when we shall have well nigh ruined each other by the mutual madness of cutting one another's throats. For all these reasons, which cannot but be as obvious to the English commissioners, and ours, as they are to me, I am at a loss to imagine how any thing can arise to obstruct a negotiation, and, of consequence, a pacification. You, who know my heart, know that there is not a wish nearer to it than this is; but I am prepared for every event, one only excepted—I mean a dishonourable peace. Rather than that, let me, though with the loss of every thing else I hold dear, continue this horrid trade, and by the most unlikely means, be the unworthy instrument of preserving political security and happiness to them, as well as to ourselves. Pity this cannot be accomplished, without fixing on me that sad name, Rebel. I love my king; you know I do: a soldier, a good man cannot but love

love him. How peculiarly hard then is our fortune to be deemed traitors to so good a king! But I am not without hopes, that even he will yet see cause to do me justice: posterity I am sure will. Meanwhile I comfort myself with the reflection that this has been the fate of the best and bravest men, even of the Barons who obtained Magna Charta, whilst the dispute was depending. This, however, anxiously as I wish for it, it is not mine to command: I see my duty; that of standing up for the liberties of my country; and whatever difficulties and discouragements lie in my way, I dare not shrink from it; and I rely on that Being, who has not left to us the choice of duties, that, whilst I conscientiously discharge mine, I shall not finally lose my reward. If I really am not a bad man, I shall not long be so set down.

Assure yourself, I will pay all possible attention to your recommendations. But happy as I am in an opportunity of obliging you, even in the smallest things, take it not amiss, that I use the freedom with you to whisper in your ear

ear, to be sparing of them. You know how I am circumstanced: hardly the promotion of a subaltern is left me. And, free and independent as I am, I resolve to remain so.— I owe the Congress no obligations for any personal favours done to myself; nor will I run in debt to them for favours to others. Besides, I am mortified to have to ask of them, what in sound policy (if other motives had been wanting) they ought to have granted to me, unasked. I cannot describe to you the inconveniences this army suffers for want of this consequence being given to its commander in chief. But, as these might be encreased, were my peculiar situation in this respect generally known, I forbear; only enjoining you a cautious silence on this head. In a regular army, our Virginia young men, would certainly, in general, make the best officers; but I regret that they have not now put it in my power justly to pay them this compliment. They dislike their northern allies; and this dislike is the source of infinite mischiefs and vexations to me. In the many disputes and quarrels of this sort, which we have had, one thing has particularly struck

struck me. My countrymen are not inferior in understanding; and are certainly superior in that distinguished spirit and high sense of honour which should form the character of an officer. Yet, somehow or other, it forever happens, that in every altercation, they are proved to be in the wrong; and they expect of me attentions and partialities which it is not in my power to shew them.

Let me rely that your answer to this will be dated in Philadelphia. If I am not very busily engaged, (which I hope may not be the case) perhaps I may find ways and means to pay you a visit of a day or two; but this I rather hint as what I wish, than what I dare bid you expect. If you still think the fragments of the set of greys I bought of Lord Botetourt unequal to the journey, let Lund Washington sell them, singly, or otherwise as he can, to the best advantage, and purchase a new set of bays. I could, as you desire, get them here, and perhaps on better terms; but, I have a notion, whether well or ill founded I know not, that they never answer well in Virginia.

F

I beg

I beg to be affectionately remembered to all our friends and relations ; and that you will continue to believe me to be

Your most faithful and tender Husband,

G. W.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

*COPY of a Letter from The Reverend Mr.
JACOB DUCHE, to General WASHINGTON.*

October 8th, 1777.

SIR,

IF this letter should find you in council, or in the field, before you read another sentence I beg you to take the first opportunity of retiring and weighing its important contents. You are perfectly acquainted with the part I formerly took in the present unhappy contest. I was, indeed, among the first to bear my public testimony against having any recourse to threats, or indulging a thought of an armed opposition. The current, however, was too strong for my feeble efforts to resist. I wished to follow my countrymen as far only as virtue and the righteousness of their cause would permit me. I was, however, prevailed on, among the rest of my clerical brethren in this city,

to gratify the pressing desires of my fellow-citizens, by preaching a sermon to the second city battalion. I was pressed to publish this sermon, and reluctantly consented. From a personal attachment of near twenty years standing, and a high respect for your character, in private as well as public life, I took the liberty of dedicating this sermon to you. I had your affectionate thanks for my performance, in a letter, wherein was expressed, in the most delicate and obliging terms, your regard for me, and your wishes for a continuance of my friendship, and approbation of your conduct. Farther than this I intended not to proceed. My sermon speaks for itself, and wholly disclaims the idea of independency. My sentiments were well known to my friends; I communicated them, without reserve, to many respectable members of Congress, who expressed their warm approbation of it then. I persisted to the very last moment, to use the prayers for my Sovereign, though threatened with insults from the violence of a party. Upon the declaration of independency I called my vestry, and solemnly put
the

the question to them, Whether they thought it best for the peace and welfare of the congregation, to shut up the churches, or to continue the service, without using the prayers for the Royal Family? This was the sad alternative; I concluded to abide by their decision, as I could not have time to consult my spiritual superiors in England. They determined it most expedient, under such critical circumstances, to keep open the churches, that the congregations might not be dispersed, which we had great reason to apprehend. A very few days after the fatal declaration of independency, I received a letter from Mr. Hancock, sent by express to German-town, where my family were for the summer season, acquainting me I was appointed Chaplain to the Congress, and desired my attendance next morning at 9 o'clock. Surprised, and distressed, as I was, by an event I was not prepared to expect; obliged to give an immediate attendance, without the opportunity of consulting my friends, I easily accepted the appointment. I could have but one motive for taking this step. I thought the churches in dan-

ger, and hoped, by this means, to have been instrumental in preventing those ills I had so much reason to apprehend. I can, however, with truth, declare, I then looked upon independency rather as an expedient, and hazardous, or, indeed, thrown out *in terrorem*, in order to procure some favourable terms, than a measure that was seriously persisted in at all events. My sudden change of conduct will clearly evince this to have been my idea of the matter. Upon the return of the Committee of Congress, appointed to confer with Lord Howe, I soon discerned their whole intentions. The different accounts which each member gave of this conference, the time they took to make up the matter for public view, and the amazing disagreement between the newspaper accounts and the relation I myself had from the mouth of one of the committee, convinced me there must have been some unfair and ungenerous procedure. This determination to treat on no other strain than that of independency, which put it out of his Lordship's power to mention any terms at all, was sufficient proof to me, that independency

was

was the idol they had long wished to set up, and that, rather than sacrifice this, they would deluge their country with blood. From this moment I determined upon my resignation, and, in the beginning of October 1776, sent it in form to Mr. Hancock, after having officiated only two months and three weeks; and from that time, as far as my safety would permit, I have been opposed to all their measures. This circumstantial account of my conduct, I think due to the friendship you were so obliging as to express for me, and I hope will be sufficient to justify any seeming inconsistencies in the part I have acted. And now, dear Sir, suffer me, in the language of truth and real affection, to address myself to you. All the world must be convinced you are engaged in the service of your country from motives perfectly disinterested. You risked every thing that was dear to you, abandoned the sweets of domestic life, which your affluent fortune can give the uninterrupted enjoyment of. But had you, could you have had, the least idea of matters being carried to such a dangerous extremity? Your most intimate

friends shuddered at the thought of a separation from the mother country, and I took it for granted that your sentiments coincided with theirs. What then can be the consequence of this rash and violent measure and degeneracy of representation, confusion of councils, blunders without number? The most respectable characters have withdrawn themselves, and are succeeded by a great majority of illiberal and violent men. Take an impartial view of the present Congress, and what can you expect from them? Your feelings must be greatly hurt by the representation of your natural province. You have no longer a Randolph, a Bland, or a Braxton, men whose names will ever be revered, whose demands never ran above the first ground on which they set out, and whose truly glorious and virtuous sentiments I have frequently heard with rapture from their own lips. — Oh! my dear Sir, what a sad contrast of characters now present—others, whose friends I can ne'er mingle with your own.—Your A. Harrison alone remains, and he is disgusted with the unworthy associates. As to those of my

my own province, some of them are so obscure, that their very names were never in my ears before, and others have only been distinguished for the weakness of their understandings, and the violence of their tempers. One alone I except from the general charge.—A man of virtue, dragged reluctantly into their measures, and restrained, by some false ideas of honour, from retreating, after having gone too far. You cannot be at a loss to discover whose name answers to this character.

From the New-England provinces, can you find one, that, as a gentleman, you could associate with, unless the soft and mild address of Mr. Hancock, can atone for his want of every other qualification necessary for the seat which he fills.—Bankrupts, attornies, and men of desperate fortunes, are his colleagues.—Maryland no longer sends a Tilghman and a protestant Carrol.—Carolina has lost its Lynch, and the elder Middleton has retired. Are the dregs of Congress then still to influence a mind like yours? These are not the men you engaged to serve; these are not the men that America has chosen to represent her;
Most

Most of them were chosen by a little low faction, and the few gentlemen that are among them now are well known to lie on the balance, and looking up to your hand alone to turn the beam: 'Tis you, Sir, and you only, that support the present Congress; of this you must be fully sensible. Long before they left Philadelphia, their dignity and consequence were gone; what must it be now since their precipitate retreat?—I write with freedom, but without invective; I know these things to be true, and I write to one whose own observation, must have convinced him that it is so.—After this view of the Congress, turn to the army.—The whole world knows that its only existence depends upon you; that your death or captivity disperses it in a moment, and there is not a man on that side the question in America, capable of succeeding you. As to the army itself, what have you to expect from them?—Have they not frequently abandoned you yourself, in the hour of extremity? Can you, have you the least confidence in a set of undisciplined men and officers, many of whom have been taken from the

the lowest of the people, without principle, without courage; take away them who surround your person, how very few are there you can ask to sit at your table?—As to your little navy, of that little, what is left? Of the Delaware fleet, part are taken, the rest must soon surrender.—Of those in the other provinces, some are taken, one or two at sea, and others lying unmanned and unrigged in your harbours; and now where are your resources? Oh! my dear Sir, how sadly have you been abused by a faction void of truth, and void of tenderness to you and your country? They have amused you with hopes of a declaration of war on the part of France. Believe me, from the best authority, it was a fiction from the first.—Early in the year 1776, a French gentleman was introduced to me with whom I became intimately acquainted. His business, to all appearance, was to speculate in the mercantile way. But I believe it will be found, that in his country he moved in a higher sphere.—He saw your cause.—He became acquainted with all your military preparations.—He was
intro-

introduced to Congress, and engaged with them in a commercial contract. In the course of our intimacy, he has frequently told me, that he hoped the Americans would never think of independency; he gave me his reasons.—Independency can never be supported unless France should declare war against England. I well know the state of her finances, years to come, will not put them in a situation to enter upon a breach with England. At this moment there are two parties in the court of Versailles; one insisted under the Duke De Choiseul, the other under Count Maurepas. Choiseul has no chance of succeeding, tho' he is violent for war; Maurepas must get the better; he is for œconomy and peace; this was his information, which I mentioned to several members of Congress, they treated it as a fable, depending entirely on Doctor Franklin's intelligence. The truth of the matter is this; Dr. Franklin built upon the success of Choiseul. Upon his arrival in France he found him out of place, his councils reprobated, and his party dwindled into an insignificant faction: this you may depend upon
to

to be the true state of affairs in France, at the court of Dr. Franklin. And further, by vast numbers of letters found on board of prizes taken by the King's ships, it appears, that all commerce with the merchants, through whom all your supplies have been conveyed, will be at an end; the letters being full of complaints of no remittances from America, and many individuals having generally suffered. From your friends in England you have nothing to expect, their numbers have diminished to a cypher; the spirit of the whole nation is in activity, a few sounding names among the nobility, though perpetually ringing in your ears, are without character, and without influence. Disappointed ambition has made them desperate, and they only wish to make the deluded Americans instruments of revenge. All orders and ranks of men in Great Britain, are now unanimous, and determined to risque their all with content. Trade and manufactures are found to flourish, and new channels are continually offering, that will perhaps more than supply the loss of the old. In America your harbours are blocked up, your ci-

03 ties

ties fall one after another; fortrefs after fortrefs, battle after battle is lost. A British army, after having passed unmolested through a vast extent of country, have possessed themselves of the capital of America. How unequal the contest! How fruitless the expence of blood! Under so many discouraging circumstances, can virtue, can honour, can the love of your country, prompt you to proceed? Humanity itself, and sure humanity is no stranger to your breast, calls upon you to desist.—Your army must perish for want of common necessaries, or thousands of innocent families must perish to support them; wherever they encamp, the country must be impoverished; wherever they march, the troops of Britain will pursue, and must complete the destruction which America herself has begun. Perhaps it may be said, it is better to die than to be made slaves: this indeed is a splendid maxim in theory, and, perhaps, in some instances, may be found experimentally true; but when there is the least probability of an happier accommodation, surely wisdom and humanity call for some sacrifices to be made,

made, to prevent inevitable destruction. You well know there is but one invincible bar to such an accommodation; could this be removed, other obstacles might readily be removed.

It is to you, and you alone, your bleeding country looks and calls aloud for this sacrifice; your arm alone has strength sufficient to remove this bar; may Heaven inspire you with this glorious resolution of exerting your strength at this crisis, and immortalizing yourself as a friend and guardian to your country; your penetrating eye needs not more explicit language, to discern my meaning: with that prudence and delicacy therefore, of which I know you possessed, represent to Congress the indispensable necessity of rescinding the hasty and ill-advised declaration of independency. Recommend, and you have an undoubted right to recommend, an immediate cessation of hostilities. Let the controversy be taken up where that declaration left it, and where Lord Howe certainly expected to find it. Let men of clear and impartial characters, in or out of Congress, liberal in their sentiments, heretofore

heretofore independent in their fortunes, and some such may be found in America, be appointed to confer with his Majesty's commissioners. Let them, if they please, prepare some well digested constitutional plan, to lay before them at the commencement of the negotiation; when they have gone thus far, I am confident the usual happy consequences will ensue; unanimity will immediately take place through the different provinces; thousands who are now ardently wishing and praying for such a measure, will step forth, and declare themselves the zealous advocates for constitutional liberty; and millions will bless the hero that left the field of war, to decide this most important contest with the weapons of wisdom and humanity. Oh! Sir, let no false ideas of worldly honour deter you from engaging in so glorious a task; whatever censures may be thrown out, by mean illiberal minds, your character will rise in the estimation of the virtuous and noble: it will appear with lustre in the annals of history, and form a glorious contrast, to that of those, who have fought to obtain conquest, and gratify their
own

own ambition by the destruction of their species, and the ruin of their country.

Be assured, Sir, that I write not this under the eye of any British officer, or person connected with the British army or ministry. The sentiments I express are the real sentiments of my own heart, such as I have long held, and which I should have made known to you by letter before, had I not fully expected an opportunity of a private conference. When you passed through Philadelphia on your way to Wilmington, I was confined, by a severe fit of the gravel, to my chamber; I have since continued so much indisposed, and times have been so very distressing, that I had neither spirit to write a letter, nor an opportunity to convey it when written, nor do I yet know by what means I shall get these sheets to your hands; I would fain hope that I have said nothing by which your delicacy can be in the least hurt: if I have, I assure you it has been without the least intention, and therefore your candour will lead you to forgive me. I have spoke freely of Congress, and of the ar-

G

my,

my, but what I have said, is partly from my own knowledge, and partly from the information of some respectable members of the former, and some of the best officers in the latter; I would not offend the meanest person upon earth; what I say to you, I say in confidence, to answer what I cannot but deem a most *valuable purpose*. I love my country, I love you; but to the love of truth, the love of peace, and the love of God, I hope I should be enabled, if called upon to the trial, to sacrifice every other inferior love. If the arguments made use of in this letter should have so much influence as to engage you in the glorious work, which I have warmly recommended, I shall ever deem my success the highest temporal favour that Providence could grant me. Your interposition and advice, I am confident would meet with a favourable reception from the authority under which you act; if it should not, you have an infallible recourse still left, negotiate for your country at the head of your army. After all, it may appear presumption, as an individual, to address himself to you on a subject of such magnitude,

nitude, or to say what measures would best secure the interest and welfare of a whole continent. The friendly and favourable opinion you have always expressed for me, emboldens me to undertake it, and, which has greatly added to the weight of this motive, I have been strongly impressed with a sense of duty upon the occasion, which left my conscience uneasy, and my heart afflicted till I fully discharged it. I am no enthusiast; the cause is new and singular to me, but I could not enjoy one moment's peace till this letter was written. With most ardent prayers for your spiritual, as well as temporal welfare,

I am your most obedient,

And humble Friend and Servant,

JACOB DUCHE.

His Excellency General Washington.

TO THE REVEREND JACOB DUCHE.

SIR,

LEST the poison of your precepts should mislead the ignorant and credulous, or corrupt the honest, I have ventured, with much deference to abler pens, to make a few observations on some of the most remarkable passages in your celebrated letter to his Excellency the Commander in Chief.

Great pains and many words have been used to palliate your former conduct, and reconcile it with the part you now act;—you have found it an Herculean labour, and it still rests in the same place where you began. That the grass is green, is self-evident; that the sun shines, needs no demonstration; and that you have acted the most base and treacherous part, is a truth that wants no proof. As well might you attempt to reconcile jarring elements, as to dupe us into a belief of the integrity of your heart. “You wished to follow your countrymen as far *only* as *virtue*, and the

righteousness

righteousness of their cause would permit you; that is to say, as far as your interest and safety were concerned, then you was their man: But by forsaking us at this time, it would lead us to infer, that with you, every principle of virtue and humanity have likewise abandoned us. You shudder at the idea of an independency, and yet suffered Mr. Hancock, who has nothing but a soft mild address to atone for his want of every other qualification necessary for the station he fills"—*Redemptum nulla virtute a vitiis*—I say you suffered this cypher of a man to attack you by surprise with a commission, and dub you a chaplain. 'Tis true, you say you was much distressed. But, *querenda pecunia primum est, virtus post nummos*—your conscience afterwards became easy, and your pockets were lined: At the same time you insinuate that you utterly deprecated such service; being inconsistent with your new-adopted faith of absolute submission and non-resistance. The danger of the episcopal church, lest it should fall into anarchy, by absurdly praying for the—— we oppose, is one specious reason for your lapsus; and, to

prevent that misfortune, you adopted a conduct which you *now* confess, your sentiments reprobated at *that* very time. But perhaps you may be one of those who believe, "that it is lawful to do *evil*, that *good* may come of it."

How often, with pleasure, have I heard you declaim on the blessings of liberty, the horrors of a despotic government, and exhorting us to firmness and unanimity! But, alas! little did I then think you "spoke a language foreign to your heart," and that your soul was all deceit and treachery. Your good sense and sound judgment were not proof against the popular torrent and the violence of party, so as a lamb to the slaughter you were borne down by the general voice.

Like all young sinners, you soon became familiar with vice, and *reluctantly* preached a sermon to one of the city battalions, encouraging them to stand fast in their opposition. You afterwards became well acquainted with that *monster* *Independency*, and seem never to have discovered

covered its Gorgon head till we had been defeated on Long-Island, lost the city of New-York, and our affairs in that State wore a melancholy aspect. These circumstances, I say, (truly terrifying to little minds) determined you at once to get out of the *supposed* scrape as well as you could; you were conscious, at the same time, how fatal such an inconsistent step would be to your character as a man of virtue, as a man of honour, and therefore cautiously concealed the reasons of your resignation from the candid public, till, like a true poltroon, you sheltered yourself under the arm of that very power which, from the *sacred* pulpit, you exhorted us to oppose. It is needless to prove the necessity of that *definitive* measure, which you hold forth as the chief cause of your defection, it having been often and wisely demonstrated, but only to mention it as far as it interferes with your apology. You consider it as a bug-bear, "held up in terror to frighten our oppressors into *some* terms, but not as a measure to be persisted in at all events; that is to say, if military parade and threats were not sufficient to intimidate the

foe, to concede those privileges which you have *often acknowledged* to be our *just and natural* rights, and which no powers ought to divest us of—then to sit down patiently, bow the neck to the yoke, and bare the shoulders to the lash. “This, indeed, is a splendid maxim in theory,” but the experiment applies so strongly to the senses, that even you, Sir, have not Stoicism to reduce it to practice.

I pass by your remarks on the result of the conference between Lord Howe, his Britannick Majesty's Commissioner, and the Committee of Congress, not being conclusive arguments against the necessity of independency.

“All the world,” you say, “are convinced that the illustrious personage to whom you write, is engaged in the *service* of his country from motives perfectly disinterested.” It is a catholic faith, that no action can be praiseworthy, whose principles are unjust and cruel, and which is not only *malum in se*, but practised to obtain the most villainous and pernicious ends. On the other hand, it is acknowledged by you, for yourself, and the whole world, that

that *he* is engaged to *serve* his country, and that from the most laudable motives; how then can you be so inconsistent, after such declaration, to dissuade from that honourable service! To bring ruin and destruction on our country, or to suffer others to do it, cannot certainly be called *saving it*; but an opposite conduct implies benefits, favours, and every good gift that can be conferred, and which, at this very time, you amply confess are the motives of action in the Personage to whom you write.

“But,” you again say, “could you have had the least idea of matters being carried to such a dangerous extremity as they are now?” Or in words tantamount, Had you any prospect of the hardships of war, of marching and counter-marching, cold and heat, wet and dry, hunger and thirst; but above all, of coming to battle? I myself, one of your *most* intimate acquaintance, who have *known* you near twenty years, could not believe you would have persisted. And now to prove, that from the measure of independency, has flowed a degeneracy of representation, confusion of councils,

councils, and numberless blunders; that the most worthy characters have withdrawn, and are succeeded by fools and mad-men, we have your ample testimony: And who had a better opportunity of knowing the characters of those Gentlemen, than their own Chaplain, after preaching up Liberty for two months and three weeks to them?

No candid person can discern, from the general tenor of your letter, you ever meant it should have the effect proposed, otherwise you would not have begun with such illiberal, false, ungentleman-like aspersions on the greatest body politic in America, the only power which could bring about that important change for which you solicit. The first who meet the fire of your pen, are the Delegates from Virginia. You recapitulate the virtues of the deceased and superannuated; or persons who, after long and faithful services, had retired to manage their private affairs, which had suffered by their absence, or to be more immediately aiding the public business of their own States: I say, some of these aforesaid causes affect every Gentleman

Gentleman whom you have thought proper to discriminate from the rest, and daub with fulsome adulation. Even the members of your State, or the *catholic* Carrol, do not hold you in a more contemptible view than those very men who have been the subjects of your flattery. In the New-England states it is well known, even by our enemies, that the general voice is for supporting our independency at all events; those people being unanimous, their elections cannot be called the result of a low faction. Certainly then, under such circumstances, men of virtue and property, men of wisdom and experience would be chosen to represent them—men, who having the real interests of their country at heart, would be the properest guardians of their rights and privileges. That the Congress have lost their influence, the following circumstance will prove to be false.—The paper currency circulates freely under their credit; the camp is stored with every necessary; their troops have taken one powerful army, and strongly blockaded the other.—These are facts, among thousands, that give the lie to your assertions.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding our illustrious General is the idol of his army, and though by his death or captivity we should experience a most heavy and sensible loss, yet the principles upon which we have taken up arms, are such as indissolubly cement our interests, and consequently our powers. The merits of our cause are the same now as at first, only our opposition is more confirmed by accumulated injuries and aggravated insults. Be assured, we never mean to quit the field, to expose our country to the ravages of a foe, whose tender mercies are death and cruelty. Happy for America, we have officers amongst us, who, by imitating the conduct of our great General, (if under the circumstances you mention) would arrive at such a military perfection, as might in a great measure supply so capital a loss.

To your bitter sarcasms on our army, I reply—That some of our men are, and all have been undisciplined, is a truth that needs no controverting, only that our opposition thereby becomes more glorious. True it also is, that we have sometimes given way before superior

superior numbers and advantageous attacks; but our misfortunes, therefore, are not to be imputed to cowardice. No, Sir, every Gentleman of candour in the British army must acknowledge that we are not cowards: Mr. Duche himself, was he not under the influence of fear, must acknowledge it. And though many of our officers and men heretofore never shone in private life, more than in the character of honest citizens, or farmers; yet we have numbers who have held the most considerable posts in government, and are highly respected as private Gentlemen; such whose names have often reached *your* ears, and whom you have not been ashamed to profess a friendship for, exclusive of those Gentlemen who surrounded his Excellency's person. As to our little fleet, which you have already annihilated in idea; believe me, that does not form the nerves of our opposition. Your arguments against the probability of a French war, and the fine-spun anecdote of a certain speculative French trader, I purposely omit, leaving the event in the hands of all-revealing time, which doubtless

we

we shall have no cause to be dissatisfied with. We do not court the friendship of England; its inhabitants have never done us any material service; on the contrary, they have voted ample supplies to hire foreigners to spill our blood unjustly; they never exerted themselves to effect; it was once in their power to have spared the lives of our butchered countrymen, and to have prevented the tears of many widows and orphans now deprived of their dearest connections, by a band of hireling Scotch and German ruffians. We know that the spirit of the whole nation is in full activity against us, and we have already experienced the effects of that *humane* spirit, which you say is united and determined. Some few noble patriotic souls are yet left in both Houses of Parliament, though you have the consummate assurance to say, they are without *character*, and without *influence*; whose steady opposition has no other motive than despair, vengeance, and disappointment:—But America will ever have a grateful sense of their merits, in spite of the calumny of theirs and our enemies.

Since

Since the Declaration of Independency, the ground of our contest is materially changed; and it is not rights and privileges for which we now fight, but dominion and empire are the objects of both parties. Britain is endeavouring to reduce us to conquered provinces, and again monopolize our trade. Why then this immense expence of blood and treasure, when you tell us, that "new channels are continually opening, that will, perhaps, *more* than supply the loss of the old?"—It is only changing the navigation from America to Europe, and the loss of our trade and manufactures will never be felt by England.

The whole navy of Great Britain is not sufficient to block up all our harbours; and though fortresses are taken, and battles lost, the victors have ever reason to lament the conquest. Every day their army moulders away, whilst ours, like the Hydra, increases two-fold; and notwithstanding they now possess our unfortunate capital, I may justly cry out with you, "How unequal the contest! how fruitless the expence of blood!"

After

After recapitulating every discouragement calculated to terrify weak minds, like an able logician, you draw an inference as foreign from the premises, as probably you and I will be, before this letter reaches you. Ergo, "Under so many discouraging circumstances, can *virtue*, can *honour*, or the *love* of your country, prompt you to persevere? Humanity itself, (and then a stroke of flattery) calls you to desist." The very idea of virtue implies difficulties and disappointments; was it not so, patriotism would degenerate into licentiousness, and liberty be of no real value.

True it is, that wherever our army encamps, it becomes somewhat burthensome to the inhabitants of the vicinage: but observe the progress of the British spoilers—murder, rape, robbery, and burning, mark their footsteps! And though sometimes they may pursue, they as often shamefully retreat, and continue the devastation which they (not we) have begun.

Wisdom dictates a glorious and happy peace, and humanity wishes for it; but *accommodation*

tion seems to imply *dependence*: A sacrifice which I am confident America will never make. You call upon his Excellency, in the name of the whole Continent, to make this destructive sacrifice, and to become "the friend" and guardian of his country," by withdrawing his protection.

As a full and conclusive answer to the two following paragraphs, I refer you to a serious perusal of Lord Chatham's speech in the House of Lords, June 3, 1777:

That you did not write this letter under the eye, or immediate inspection of any British officer, or any person connected with the British army or ministry, is the only assertion in your whole performance which is believed; but that you wrote it at the instigation of some, and for the perusal and eclat of all such persons, appears very evident. This is a masterpiece of casuistry, and would do honour to the eldest son of St. Ignatius himself.

After casting the foulest aspersions on Congress, scandalizing the officers and the army,

H

and

and affronting his Excellency with the most villanous propositions, you say, "I would fain hope, that I have said nothing by which your delicacy can in the least be hurt; if so, 'twas without intention, and your candour will lead you to forgive me."—O most consummate assurance! You would not offend the meanest person on earth! I believe you, sir; you *cannot* offend; your obscurity hides you, and your insignificance renders harmless the shafts of your malice.

I never before saw a discrimination between the love of truth, of peace, of our God, and the love of our country. The end of war is peace—'tis for that we are now contending.—Peace promotes truth and religion; your principles annihilate both. 'Tis for our country we fight, for her we dare bleed—Religion and Justice approve the conflict.

In fine, your whole performance is a rhapsody, without pathos to soften, or arguments to convince; and your last proposition is of such a horrid, villanous nature, that I blush to think of it.

Indeed,

Indeed, sir, I sincerely lament your departure from virtue, from honour, from your country; which, alas! you have for ever fold. This, perhaps, may be said in your excuse—

“*Incenditque Animum Famæ venientis Amore.*”

But can riches, can fame, or *clerical* preferment repay you for a *lost* character and *prostituted* conscience? These shores, as well as your own reflections, will be for ever hostile to you. You are now going to a country where you must flatter for a subsistence, and exist upon the smiles of the great. A miserable state of dependence and servility is the only prospect before you; and this is the eligible exchange you have made.—*O Tempora!*—*O Mores!*—Your talents will, perhaps, be exercised there to as little purpose as here.—You will ever be the contempt of honest men, and the tool of high-priests and knaves in power.

H 2

I leave

I leave you in the hands of Heaven, and a
guilty conscience, and am,

Your humble servant,

JOHN PARKE, Lieut. Colonel.

N. B. Mr. Duche's letter is published in the
Philadelphia papers, with many alterations and
amendments, which were not in the original
sent out.

*Copy of a letter from his Excellency Sir HENRY
CLINTON, to his Excellency Gen. WASHINGTON.*

New-York, Nov. 10, 1778.

SIR,

IT is not necessary at present to resume the
consideration of the principal questions re-
lating to the Convention at Saratoga; I wish
merely to bring under review the resolution of
Congress of the 21st of May, inclosed in your
letter of the 23d, to Sir William Howe.

It appears to me different from the practice
of all nations or parties at war, and in some
degree tending to encrease the hardships of
war.

war, to refuse granting an equivalent of privates for officers.

Such an exchange at present may prevent great inconveniencies to many of the parties concerned.

You have ordered the troops of the Convention to be removed from Massachusetts-Bay to Virginia, and I have ordered all the officers of your army prisoners out on parole, to return here.

These movements, with all the hardships incident to them at this season, may, in part, be prevented, if you think proper to agree, that the officers of your army, prisoners on parole, or now here, be exchanged for officers and men of the troops of the Convention, according to the customary proportion, or according to such proportion as may be determined by Commissioners appointed on both sides.

If what I propose should meet with your approbation, and the time and place for the meeting of Commissioners for the purpose before-

mentioned, is determined, I shall send Colonels O'Hara and Hyde, of his Majesty's foot guards, as Commissioners on my part, who will be fully instructed and authorised to enter on the consideration of any matters that may arise in the conduct of this business.

Mr. Clarke, Assistant Commissary-General to the troops of the Convention, who will have the honour of delivering this letter, being desired by Major-General Phillips to return immediately to Cambridge by land, in order to settle some accounts relative to that army, I am to request a passport for him to return thither for that purpose.

I have the honour to be, with due respect,

Your most obedient servant,

H. CLINTON.

Head-Quarters, Nov. 14th, 1778.

SIR,

I RECEIVED your Excellency's letter of the 10th inst. through Mr. Clarke.

I have transmitted Congress a copy of your proposition, relative to an exchange of the troops
of

of the Convention, and shall do myself the honour to communicate their decision the moment it is made known.

Mr. Clarke has my permission to proceed by the most convenient route to the troops of the Convention.

I have the honour to be,

With all due respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton.

Head-Quarters, Frederickburg, Nov. 27, 1779.

SIR,

I DO myself the honour of transmitting to your Excellency the inclosed copy of an act of Congress, of the 19th instant, in answer to the proposition made in your letter of the 10th. In order to negotiate an exchange on the principles therein mentioned, Lieutenant-Colonels Harrison and Hamilton of the army

H 4

under

under my command, will meet Colonels O'Hara and Hyde at Amboy, on Monday the 7th of December, at eleven o'clock, with proper powers.

I would propose as the means of expediting business, that our respective Commissioners of Prisoners should attend at the same time and place, to carry into execution what shall be determined by the Commissioners.

I have the Honour be,

With due respect, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

P. S. If your Excellency should chuse to return me an answer, your letter will have the most speedy conveyance by way of Elizabeth-Town.

His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton.

In Congress, November 19, 1778.

RESOLVED,

THAT General Washington be empowered and directed to appoint Commissioners, and fix the time and place of their meeting, to confer with the Commissioners appointed,

or to be appointed, by Sir Henry Clinton, or other the Commander in Chief of the British forces in America, on behalf of his Britannic Majesty, on the exchange proposed by Sir Henry Clinton, in his letter to General Washington, of the 10th instant, of the officers in the service of these States, now prisoners in the actual possession of the enemy, or out on parole, for the officers and men of the troops of the Convention, according to their rank and number: Officers of equal rank to be first exchanged, after which, if it shall be necessary, and equivalent of inferior for superior officers; and if agreeable to such equivalent, all the officers of the enemy shall be exchanged, and a balance of prisoners remain in their hands, then an equivalent of privates shall be settled according to the customary proportion, or such proportion as may be agreed on. The Commissioners so to be appointed by virtue hereof, to make report of their proceedings to General Washington, who is hereby fully authorised and empowered, finally to ratify the terms of the said exchange on behalf of these United States.

Resolved,

Resolved, That General Washington be directed to call for Lieutenant General Burgoyne, and other officers of the Convention troops, now prisoners to these United States on parole, whenever the interest of the United States shall, in his opinion, render it necessary.

Extract from the Minutes,

CHARLES THOMPSON, *Secretary*.

December 2, 1778.

I HAVE received your letter of the 27th of last month, relative to the exchange of prisoners proposed by me in mine to your Excellency of the 10th; and in consequence thereof, I shall send two Commissioners to meet the like number on your part, on the time and place appointed; when I hope both parties will enter upon the business proposed, with that zeal which the importance of the object may require.

I propose sending with my Commissioners, as is usual upon such occasions, one commissioned officer, one serjeant, and eight private centinels.

It

It is to be understood, that the place of meeting is to be exempted from every kind of military operation during the meeting of the Commissioners.

For the more immediate dispatch of business, it may be necessary that the Commissioners should be authorised to grant passports, signed by both parties, to suffer persons that may be employed in carrying letters to the Head-Quarters of both armies, to pass unmolested. I am, with due respect,

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

H. CLINTON.

His Excellency General Washington.

By his Excellency Sir HENRY CLINTON, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, General and Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's Forces within the Colonies laying on the Atlantic Ocean, from Nova Scotia to West Florida, inclusive, &c. &c.

To Colonel CHARLES O'HARA and Colonel WEST HYDE, of his Majesty's Foot Guards.

IN pursuance of a proposal made by me to General Washington, respecting an exchange

change of the officers of his army who are prisoners, for the officers and men of the troops of the Convention, according to the customary proportion, or such proportion as may be determined by Commissioners appointed for this purpose on both sides; I do hereby nominate and appoint you, Colonel Charles O'Hara and Colonel West Hyde, of his Majesty's foot guards, Commissioners on my part for the purposes aforesaid; and you are accordingly to treat, determine, and agree with a like number of Commissioners of suitable rank on the part of General Washington, vested with similar powers to those herein contained, upon all matters whatsoever, relative to the exchange of prisoners before-mentioned.

For all which this shall be to you, Colonel Charles O'Hara and Colonel West Hyde, a sufficient warrant, and your engagements so concluded upon, will upon condition of their being mutually interchanged, be finally ratified on my part.

Given

*Given under my hand and seal, at Head-Quarters
in New-York, the 7th day of Dec. 1778.*

H. CLINTON.

By his Excellency's command,

JOHN SMITH, Secretary.

By his Excellency **GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq.**
*General and Commander in Chief of the Forces of
the United States of America, to Lieutenant-
Colonel* **ROBERT HANSON HARRISON, and
Lieutenant-Colonel ALEXANDER HAMILTON.**

HIS Excellency Sir Henry Clinton having
by a letter to me, of the 10th instant,
made a proposition to the following effect,
viz. "To exchange the officers of our army
who are prisoners on parole, or otherwise, in his
possession, for officers and men of the troops of
the Convention, according to the customary
proportion, or according to such proportion as
might be determined by Commissioners ap-
pointed on both sides:"

And

And the Honourable the Congress having authorised me, by an act passed on the 19th instant, "To appoint Commissioners to confer with such as are, or may be, appointed by Sir Henry Clinton, on the exchange proposed by him; and directed that officers of equal rank be first exchanged; after which, if it should be necessary, equivalent of inferior for superior officers: And if agreeably to such equivalent, all the officers of the enemy shall be exchanged, and a balance of prisoners remain in their hands, then an equivalent of privates is to be settled according to the customary proportion or such proportion as may be agreed on:"

In virtue of these powers, you, the said Robert Hanson Harrison, and Alexander Hamilton, are appointed, and I do hereby appoint you Commissioners to repair to Amboy, in the State of New Jersey, on Monday the 7th of December, then and there, or at such other place as shall be afterwards mutually agreed on, to confer, agree, and determine, with the Commissioners nominated, or to be nominated

nominated by Sir Henry Clinton, and who shall be properly authorised upon an exchange of prisoners, agreeable to the terms of the said recited act.

For which this shall be your warrant; and your engagements being mutually interchanged, shall be ratified and confirmed by me,

Given under my hand and seal, at Head-Quarters, this 30th day of November, Anno Domini, 1778.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

By his Excellency's command,

TENCH TILGHMAN.

Copy of a letter from Colonels O'HARA and HYDE, to Lieut. Colonels HARRISON and HAMILTON.

Amboy, December 12, 1778.

GENTLEMEN,

WE cannot sufficiently lament that the purposes of our meeting, you will pardon us for observing, have been defeated, by a less generous and extensive construction of

of the resolutions of Congress of the 19th November, than the view in which we had considered them.

Every sense of honour, justice, and humanity, makes it impossible to acquiesce in a proposal which might lead to separate the officers from the private soldiers, by exchanging the former, and suffering the latter to remain in captivity—Companions in their more fortunate hours, they must be equally sharers of affliction: such cruel and unprecedented distinction, between men who have equally a claim upon the favour and protection of their country, we are certain, your own feelings, as officers and men, would condemn. You will consequently not be surprised, that we cannot assent to the partial mode of exchange proposed.

We beg leave, therefore, to acquaint you that we intend returning to New-York tomorrow, to make our report to Sir Henry Clinton. Let us flatter ourselves, that some expedient may be immediately embraced by both

[113]

both parties, upon such honourable, humane, and disinterested principles, as may give the most speedy and ample relief, to every order of unfortunate men concerned.

We are, Gentlemen,

(Signed)

CHARLES O'HARA.

WEST HYDE.

To Lieut. Colonels Harrison and Hamilton.

Answer to the foregoing Letter.

Amboy, December 12, 1778.

GENTLEMEN,

WE have read the letter with which you were pleased to favour us this afternoon.

We join with you in lamenting that the purpose of our meeting has been frustrated; and we assure you, that it is to us a matter of equal concern and surprise to find, that there should be a difference in our respective constructions of the resolve to which you refer,—persuaded as we were, that the terms of that resolve, were too simple and precise to admit of more than one interpretation, we did not

I

even

even suspect it possible to differ about its meaning; and the objects of our meeting having been delineated in a manner which appeared to us perfectly clear and explicit, we had no expectation of the difficulty which has occurred in carrying them into execution.

You will not be surprised that this should have been the case, when you recur to the circumstances that produced our meeting; we beg leave to recal them to your view. Sir Henry Clinton in his letter of the 10th of November, proposed to General Washington, an exchange of our officers, prisoners in his hands, for officers and men of the convention troops. General Washington replied, that he did not think himself authorized to accede to the proposal, but would refer it to Congress, and communicate their decision. In a subsequent letter of the 27th, he transmitted the resolve in question as an answer to the proposition contained in Sir Henry's letter of the 10th, at the same time announcing our appointment as Commissioners, to negotiate an exchange on the principles therein mentioned.

The language of the resolve was literally this, to exchange "the officers in the service of the United States, prisoners in the actual possession of the enemy, or out on parole, for the officers and men of the troops of the Convention, according to their rank and number; Officers of equal rank to be first exchanged; after which, if it shall be necessary, an equivalent of inferior for superior officers; and, if agreeable to such an equivalent, all the officers of the enemy shall be exchanged, and a balance of prisoners remain in their hands; then an equivalent of privates shall be settled, according to the customary proportion, or such proportion as may be agreed on." Sir Henry Clinton, in his letter of the 2d instant, acknowledged the receipt of the foregoing, and consented, "in consequence," to a meeting of commissioners at the time and place appointed.

This, gentlemen, you will be sensible, could not be considered by us, otherwise than as an acquiescence with the terms of the resolve; and we appeal to your own candour for their perspicuity and natural import. It could not,

therefore, but appear strange, that at first sight of our powers, without any comment or explanation, though they were expressed not only in their spirit, but in the letter, of the resolve; you at once objected to them, and declared the purpose of our meeting had been misunderstood. As the one was only a transcript of the other, we conceived, from the manner in which the objection was raised, that it applied not to any construction given to the resolve, but to the resolve itself.

How far the feelings of honour, justice and humanity, may be repugnant to compliance with the proposal which has been made, you only can determine for yourselves; though we think it a question which might have merited an earlier consideration. We believe, however, it is not very customary to exchange officers for privates, when there is a sufficient number of officers on both sides to exchange for each other; but that this is rather a secondary expedient, made use of only where there are officers on one side and none on the other. In the present war, the practice of exchanging officers for private men, in any case whatever, has not yet been known; and if exchanges,

con-

conducted without reference to this principle, have heretofore been thought consistent with justice and humanity, we can perceive no sufficient reason why a different opinion should be entertained at this time.

With respect to any inconveniencies which you think might attend the exchanging all the officers of the convention troops, we take the liberty to repeat what we mentioned in our interview this morning; that we are willing to exchange as many of them as you may judge proper for others of equal rank, as far as numbers will extend.

We beg leave to assure you, that we should be happy to be afforded an opportunity of concurring with you, to the utmost of our power, in measures for extending relief, as far as the circumstances of the parties will permit, to every order of captivity, on principles of humanity and mutual advantage.

We are, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble Servants,

ROBERT HARRISON,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Colonels O'Hara and Hyde.

Report of Colonels O'HARA and HYDE, to Sir
HENRY CLINTON.

New-York, Decr 13, 1778.

IN obedience to your commands, we met on Friday last, the 11th instant, at Perth-Amboy, Lieutenant-Colonels Harrison and Hamilton, deputed by General Washington to treat with us, on the several matters respecting the proposed commission.

After the usual forms of reading, and mutually interchanging copies of the authorities under which we were to act respectively, the business was commenced by our observing

That their commission appeared to us a literal copy of the resolution of the Congress, of the 19th November, relative to the affair before us; that if they were not at liberty, which we could not conceive possible, of departing from the line prescribed to them, we could not give our consent to the partial mode of exchange proposed, as it was inadmissible upon every principle of former precedent,

honour,

honour, justice, and humanity; that as our main object in the proposed exchange was to relieve, as far as we had the means, the unfortunate sufferers concerned, without distinction or predilection in favour of rank or situation; we were ready to exchange a proportion, a moiety, if required, of our officers for theirs of suitable rank, and the other moiety of their officers for such a proportion of private soldiers of the army of the convention of Saratoga, as might be agreed on.

To the foregoing observation and proposition the commissioners from General Washington replied;—that they were not at liberty to pursue any other mode in this exchange, than the one pointed out to them in the resolution of the Congress; that if the exchange could not take place in the whole, but in part only, that the resolution of the Congress already mentioned, authorised them to make an exchange of whatever number of officers might be required of them for a like number and equal rank of ours, and the remainder to continue prisoners, till some future arrangement might be determined on; but would

not

not consent to the exchanging any of the private soldiers for officers, unless there should remain a balance of their officers in our possession, after exchanging all those of the Convention army.

As we industriously avoided giving offence by making comments upon the resolution of their Congress, or any matter that was proposed by General Washington's Commissioners, we did not think ourselves at liberty to make a very obvious and natural remark upon that part of the resolutions of the Congress, where they say, that they will exchange officers for private soldiers, if there should remain a balance of their officers in our hands after the whole of our officers should be exchanged.

The Congress were well apprised that this part of their resolutions could never operate, as they must know, that the number of officers of the Convention army were nearly equal to their officers, prisoners with us, and that, at this time, we have a very inconsiderable number of their private men prisoners,

We will not trouble your Excellency, with a recapitulation, in this report, of our reasons for not acquiescing in the proposal of General Washington's Commissioners, as they are contained in our letter to those gentlemen, a copy of which is annexed, setting forth the grounds upon which we declined taking any steps in this business; and our intention of returning to New-York, to have the honour of making our report to you as soon as possible.—We inclose, for your Excellency's information, a copy of General Washington's commission, directed to Lieut. Colonels Harrison and Hamilton, as the authority under which they were to act; and likewise a letter from those gentlemen, in answer to ours already mentioned.

Give us leave, Sir, to return you our most sincere acknowledgements for the honour intended us in our proposed commission, which we can never sufficiently regret not having been carried into execution, when we consider the magnitude of the object, and how very fortunate we should have thought ourselves could we have

have contributed, in the smallest degree, to its accomplishment.

We have the Honour to be,

Sir,

Your Excellency's

Most humble

And obedient Servants,

**CHARLES O'HARA,
WEST HYDE.**

His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton, &c. &c.

PROPOSALS

Made by Colonel PREVOST, respecting Prisoners of War, at a Conference held at Aubrey's Ferry, on the 31st of January, 1779, with an Officer deputed by Mr. LINCOLN, who is not named in the printed Account, from which the following is copied.

1st. **THAT** a fair exchange of prisoners shall take place without exception of persons.

2. **That**

2. That it shall take place before the 15th day of March.

3. That the prisoners shall be mutually and impartially exchanged, officers for officers, non-commissioned officers for non-commissioned officers, soldiers for soldiers, and citizens and inhabitants for the same number of citizens and inhabitants, agreeable to rank and station.

4. That the Highlanders at Fredericksburg in Virginia shall be first sent in on this occasion, the rest to be completed from Burgoyne's army,

5. That the rations of provisions that have been issued, or shall be issued hereafter in the southern district, to the prisoners on each side, shall be rated at the price of six-pence sterling per ration, to be paid in gold and silver, the dollar at four shillings and eight-pence.

6. Whenever the exchange takes place, the commissaries of prisoners on both sides, are

to exchange accounts, properly authenticated, of the number of rations that have been issued to the prisoners who shall be exchanged, and the balance paid at the rate above mentioned; should any difficulty arise on that head, the matter to be left to a future determination, and not prevent the exchange from taking place.

7. That proper means of conveyance shall be furnished, at the public expence, for the baggage of the officers who shall be exchanged, and proper treatment and quarters provided for them and their men on the march, to the place of exchange most contiguous to the Head Quarters of each army.

8. That the officers, non commissioned officers and privates, who have been taken at Fort Mifflin on the Schuylkill, at the defeat of Colonel Baker, the late execution of the British troops in Georgia, and other places, who have been liberated and not yet exchanged, shall be counted for and exchanged upon honour.

Head

[15]
Head Quarters, at Ebenezer, Feb. 5, 1779.

SIR,

AS I am conscious of having acted a most candid part in the conferences hitherto held, relative to the exchange of prisoners whom the fate of war has reduced into captivity, I am not in the least apprehensive of committing to paper, and submitting to public inspection, proposals suggested by humanity, to which I think it an honour to subscribe my name.

As the alterations which you have endeavoured to introduce into my original proposals seem to have brought greater difficulties in the conclusion of a cartel, I would wish that, as they were founded on equitable principles, no alterations were made but such as, from circumstances, require some not very material changes.

With that view therefore you have refused to admit an exchange of citizens and inhabitants of equal rank and station, will appear rather extraordinary. You cannot be a stranger,

Sir,

Sir, that no peaceable inhabitants were looked upon by us as prisoners of war till long after the legal detention of the king's representative, and of persons of weight and influence, whose sole crime, in your eyes, was to endeavour to stand forth as inimical to innovations in government, and to differ in opinion with people who meant to subvert it: such measures sometimes occasioned reprisals, and those persons who fell into our hands, though not till long after, for the sake of liberating the friends of government so unlawfully detained, were at last, upon some occasions, exchanged, though suffered generally by us to return to their respective homes, many instances of which I could mention from my own personal knowledge; however, as at present, infirmities and old age are not sufficient reasons not to be forcibly made either to take arms, or to act in capacities equally hostile; every man, therefore, who, in such circumstances, falls into our hands, surely is, and cannot be considered in any light more favourable than that of a prisoner of war: at our first conference, however, you flatly refused to exchange any
other

other persons but continental soldiers, and would leave to the non-existing state of Georgia to see how it would get militia and other prisoners out of our hands. You will not disown, I am well assured, that I represented to you the injustice of such a measure on your side, and my feelings for those deserted wretches (perhaps imprudently) made me suggest such arguments as, I conceive, induced your General, upon your representation, to attempt to palliate such a refusal by a distinction too nice in fact to be understood. To throw it into a proper point of view, I beg leave to refer you to the comparison of the first article of my proposals, and that of the same article with your alterations on the next day.

To all the other articles herewith sent, I have added the alterations which you wished might be made; to any other I cannot possibly conceive to be justifiable to give my assent; and if the exchange cannot take place, agreeable to the spirit of my proposals, I hope to be excused, and that the blame of the consequences will not be laid upon me.

other

In

In the offer I made, that the prisoners on board of prison-ships might be put on shore for the sake of preserving many men's lives, I wish you to understand, that General Lincoln's honour must be pledged, that all those who shall abscond without the knowledge of the commissary of prisoners shall be accounted for in any future exchange, and allowed as having been returned to you, their having absconded being certified upon oath, by the commissary, must be sufficient proof without any other: no advantage is intended to be taken; it is calculated only to prevent any dispute that might arise on that head.

Sir, I have the Honour to be

Your most obedient, &c.

AUG. PREVOST.

Overtures having been made by General WASHINGTON for settling a Cartel for the exchange of prisoners, Commissioners met by appointment, at Amboy, April the 12th, and remained there until the 23d, when Colonel HYDE, of the foot-guards, and Captain ANDRE, Aid-de-Camp to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, returned to New-York, and made the following Report to his Excellency Sir HENRY CLINTON, K. B. &c. &c. &c.

Report of Colonel HYDE, and Captain ANDRE, Commissioners on the part of his Excellency Sir HENRY CLINTON, for negotiating an exchange of prisoners, &c.

To his Excellency Sir HENRY CLINTON, K. B.

SIR,

WE beg leave in this report, to refer your Excellency to our letters from Amboy: In these we expressed our surprise to find that General Washington's Commissioners objected anew, to the powers we produced, as being incompetent to a general cartel, which must rest, as they termed it, on the

K

broad

broad basis of national faith, not on personal confidence; they quoted on this occasion, the customs of *nations* at war where commissioners were vested with powers from the supreme authority of the state, not from the commanders of armies: We would not consume time in refuting such inapplicable parallels, or in questioning the great breadth of basis ascribed to the faith of unrecognized power which ratified the Convention, but desired to proceed on the powers we *had* to an immediate exchange of prisoners, and to frame regulations for others in future, under whatever name they chose to enter into such an agreement, as it was surely an object of importance enough to deserve our attention, and fully within the compass of our commission to redeem some thousands of individuals from captivity, and to provide for the more speedy relief and more comfortable maintenance of such as should hereafter be taken. We thought it rather derogating from the zeal professed by the enemy in this affair, to hear their commissioners propose in answer, that in case your Excellency was not authorized to pledge the
faith

faith of the nation, the exchange might be deferred till such authority could be obtained from Europe. They, however, admitted, that they could treat on a present exchange. In order, therefore, to enter closely on the subject, we proposed a mutual communication of the nature of the agreement we had in view, and we proposed to them an imperfect sketch of a cartel which we had drawn up, according to the spirit of our instructions, and of which we sub-join a copy.

In return they exhibited to us some articles which they had compiled, and had intended as the chief tenor of a general cartel, had they judged our commissions to have been sufficient. These pieces were not interchanged; we can therefore only observe as to theirs, that most of the articles differed widely from ours, and many appeared to us ill-defined and leaving room for arbitrary constructions, which might easily afford ill-grounded pretences for violations. We could not but be very cautious in harkening to terms of such a tendency, when the business under our consideration, brought to mind such flagrant instances

of prevarications of that nature in the affair of the Cedars, and in a treaty of much greater importance, where a few cartouch-boxes were wrested into a pretext for invalidating a solemn Convention.

The American Commissioners refused their assent to our first article for the universal delivery of prisoners, in which we conceived they would, on computation, have remained indebted to us; but from our account, they struck off all prisoners in Georgia, having assured us, no authentic intelligence concerning them, probably upwards of 1000 men; likewise between 4 and 500 officers and soldiers, pretended to be forfeited by an infringement on the agreement at the Cedars: Officers of militia, not taken in arms, therefore styled citizens*. By these and similar deductions, they transferred the balance to their own side.

We were not more successful in bringing their ideas to coincide with ours, when we proposed to agree on an exchange as far as

* Establishing rates of exchange for unequal ranks, so as to favour themselves in this particular case.

our abilities should be found to extend, involving in the exchange of all officers, that of a certain proportion of private soldiers.

Upon the whole they appeared to circumscribe their views to the redemption of their officers on Long-Island, pressing us to mention the number of private men we should insist on receiving if an exchange took place, as if whatever equivalent we might have, their instructions had been to limit the private men they were to surrender.

Unable to bring them to a compliance with our terms, or to induce them to name their own, we at length, on Monday, the 19th instant, presented the following definitive proposals, the form and diction of which, we said, might be altered, if necessary, as we had not adverted particularly to those points.

As each subject of those offers had been fully discussed in our several conferences the preceding week, we thought, if the enemy's instructions admitted of *any* agreement, much time could not be required for deliberation.—

But as they had, throughout the negotiation, objected to every thing with a vitious spirit of contention, we drew no favourable inference from their delay in answering, and presumed they were only framing a reply, which should serve as an apology to the unhappy people, who, through the obvious policy of avoiding all exchange (except possibly on a very particular and confined principle) are to remain in captivity.— We, therefore, after waiting three days, wrote to them the letter which we annex, together with their answer.

Having thus closed our business, we quitted Amboy. We have now, with our warmest acknowledgments, to assure your Excellency of the sense of the honour you conferred upon us, and to entreat you to be persuaded, that our zeal to effect the benevolent purposes of our commission, is only equalled by the concern we feel at their having been so unhappily frustrated.

We have the honour to be, &c.

WEST HYDE.

JOHN ANDRE.

Definitive

Definitive Proposals to Colonels DAVIES and HARRISON, Commissioners on the part of General WASHINGTON, for an exchange of Prisoners.

WE renew our first proposal, which we still think the most equitable that could be adopted: That a general restoration of all prisoners of war, now in possession of both parties, take place, including the troops of the Convention of Saratoga; the balance, in favour of either, to be accounted for by the other, with the first prisoners taken: In default of similar ranks unequal to be interchanged on a Tariff which we annexed.

But as this was objected to on a supposition that the prisoners of one party would not extend to the redemption of those of the other, a more partial mode was suggested. Having, in our several conferences on that subject, fully investigated the matter, we now offer the following terms as the result, and a final proposal:

WEST HYDE.
JOHN ANDRE.

K 4

i. The

1. The troops of the Convention shall be first exchanged, and in the following succession, as far as the prisoners in the hands of the British in any part of the Continent, will suffice to exchange.

Half the Artillery
One Regt. British
One Foreign
British
Major-General
Foreign
British
Foreign

Right Wing

Lieut. General
British
Foreign
British

Left Wing

Major-General
Foreign
British
Foreign
Half the Artillery

Dragoons

Dragoons, Staff Officers and Corps not included above, to be exchanged half with each wing, and disposed as may be agreed upon.

Brigadier Generals with their regiments,

2. In the above exchange, officers shall be accounted for according to the ranks they held on the 17th Oct. 1777, (the day of signing the Convention) and shall be exchanged by us for officers of equal ranks as far as numbers will admit. In cases where the ranks and numbers will not exactly apply, officers shall be exchanged by an adequate proportion for other ranks, the nearest to their own, according to the Tariff annexed,

In the exchange of our General Officers we will return those of the highest ranks in our possession, reserving a sufficient number of Brigadiers and Field Officers to release all those of ours who are prisoners, according to the principle of equality.

On

On the other hand the private soldiers of the Convention, who shall exceed the number of privates we may have to return for them, shall be exchanged by an adequate proportion (according to the Tariff) of such Staff Officers, Subaltern Officers, and afterwards officers of next inferior rank as may remain in our possession more than the number of Subalterns and Staff Officers of the Convention troops.

The account of these balances to be settled according to the returns of officers and men actually and bona fide restored on each side; and such British regimental officers as are absent on parole shall be accounted for with their regiments, or, if required, be exchanged amongst the first, on the footing of their being already restored.

3. And should there after this remain prisoners in the hands of the British in any part of the Continent, Georgia particularly included, they shall be assigned to a further exchange of prisoners, as far as they will extend.

4. Officers

4. Officers who being on parole have not complied with the summons to return, and officers who have violated their paroles, are to be sent back immediately, or accounted for first in the exchange. And Sir Henry Clinton leaves it with General Washington in the present case to determine as to officers of the American army, which shall be accounted for as having unwarrantably absented themselves.

5. And though we are instructed to assert the just pretension, and to claim in the most explicit manner the due performance of the Capitulation of the Cedars, yet that no obstacle may remain to impede the immediate object of these proposals, we consent that the discussion of that affair shall remain for some future opportunity.

6. And we further consent, in the same view of removing difficulties, that serjeants continuing to be exchanged as heretofore as privates, Subaltern Officers shall only be rated as
you

you propose at six men, though we think the appretiation inadequate.

7. In case either party, from motives of generous confidence, and to accelerate relief, should be induced to dispossess themselves of a portion of prisoners before circumstances admit of receiving an equivalent, the plighted honour of the Generals, or some adequate security, must guarantee the delivery of the said equivalent, so that no pretence whatever may be made use of to delay or evade it. But we can neither on the present, or in any future case, admit, that officers and soldiers of militia, not on service, shall be exempted from being made prisoners of war.

We are not unwilling to frame regulations to establish and facilitate future periodical exchanges upon terms of mutual advantage, and which can leave no room for altercation or misconstruction. Whether such an instrument shall be called a General Cartel, we will not dispute, and shall be contented with powers on
the

the part of the American Commissioners of a like tenor with our own.

T A R I F F.

General commanding in chief	5000
Lieutenant General	200
Major General	350
Brigadier General	250
Majors of Brigade	} according to rank in the army
Aides de Camp	
Colonel	150
Lieutenant Colonel	75
Major	35
Captain	20
Lieutenant	10
Ensign	5
Adjutant	10
Quarter Master	10
Chaplain	10
Serjeant	2
Corporal	1
Private	1
Drummer	1

If

If the above rates are agreed to, it will be easy to settle others for the Staff, &c. upon the same principles of equity.

(Signed)

WEST HYDE.

JOHN ANDRE.

Commissioners on the part of

Sir HENRY CLINTON.

(C O P Y.)

Amboy, Thursday, April 24, 1779.

GENTLEMEN,

WITH a patience inspired by our anxious wishes to effect the end of our commission, and supported by the duties of personal politeness, we have waited three days to receive your assent or negative to the proposals we offered you on Monday; as they are determinate and unalterable, so we hope they are clear. In the first case, they can only require a decisive answer; should they be deficient in perspicuity, we shall be happy to explain them.

We present you, on our part, terms unproped by argument, and resting only on the basis of their equity; should you not be inclined to acquiesce in them, we trust you will not, on your side, detain us for the purpose only of entering at large into your motives, especially as we have Sir Henry Clinton's orders to bring this negotiation to a speedy conclusion, and to return to New-York so soon as we are convinced there are no hopes of success.

We are, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient, and

Most humble Servants,

WEST HYDE,

JOHN ANDRE.

Colonels Davies and Harrison.

Amboy, April 22, 1779.

GENTLEMEN,

WE are very sensible of your personal politeness through the whole of our negotiation; and should be extremely unwilling you should indulge an idea that in any instance we would wish to detain you unnecessarily.

We

We affect not delay, but actuated by the warmest desires to accomplish the humane purposes of our appointment, we have paid the closest attention to the proposals you have offered; we have found them extensive and important in their consequences, involving a variety of interests, which necessarily required much consideration. With a truly anxious zeal we have endeavoured to accommodate them to our mutual advantage and that of the prisoners, and are sensibly distressed to find ourselves unexpectedly restricted to a bare assent or negative to your proposals. Should they, however, be finally determinate and unalterable, as you express, we have only to lament that they are such as we cannot accede to, without manifest injury to our country, and incurring the disapprobation even of our unfortunate prisoners themselves.

We are, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and

Most humble Servants,

WILLIAM DAVIES.

ROB. H. HARRISON.

Col. Hyde and Capt. Andre.

Authentic Copies of the letters referred to in the Report from Colonel Hyde and Captain Andre to the Commander in Chief, with his Excellency's Answers.

(C O P Y .)

Amboy, April 14th, 1779.

SIR,

WE landed on Monday about 12 o'clock; and yesterday had the first conference with the gentlemen deputed to meet us. At interchanging our powers, we were not a little surpris'd to find ours objected to as to their competence to effect a general permanent cartel, these being the same grounds on which they had before oblig'd British Commissioners to break off a similar conference. They wish'd to have read in our commission from your Excellency, " I do hereby in virtue of full powers, to me delegated, nominate and appoint you &c. &c."

We also thought it rather inauspicious and not easily to be reconciled to the zeal express'd by the enemy for an exchange, to hear their

L

Commissioners in a first interview propose, that if your Excellency was not authorised to pledge the faith of the nation, the release of prisoners might be deferred 'till such authority could be obtained from Europe.

Solicitous however to find if any desire of treaty existed on their part, and cordially resolved to attempt every thing on ours, we entered on the subject; and from our conversation of yesterday and this morning have been able to observe.

That although they conceive our powers inadequate to a general cartel, they do not alledge them to be so as to a present exchange of prisoners, nor can we find where they mean to draw the line which is to circumscribe our regulations for the future; we are therefore inclined to hope that in this we are disputing on words.

They disclaim all intention to draw us into an acknowledgment of their independence, and have fully satisfied us that the preamble

may be couched in terms not repugnant to our general mode of expression with respect to them. They appear willing to talk of an exchange without entering into accounts. But

They stile General Burgoyne a *Commander in Chief*, and intimate that he and the other General Officers should be first exchanged.

They will not accede to a general delivery of prisoners, pretending, contrary to what we know to be the case, that the balance is greatly in their favour.

They profess ignorance of all transactions in Georgia, and refuse to enter into any agreement extending to prisoners taken there.

They cavil upon the rates at which unequal ranks might be interchanged where their interest in the present case appears concerned. And,

They seem to be aiming, in the mode of exchange, at an arrangement which may leave private soldiers in their possession.

We will not however despair of agreeing upon some measures for granting relief to the whole or a large portion of the prisoners now in their hands, and of fixing some line by which to be guided on future occasions of this nature.

We take the liberty to observe to your Excellency that we cannot recommend the concession they require in the matters relative to our powers, confident that the main point of shortening or alleviating the pain of captivity is in no manner connected with it, and as we think it only demanded in the same spirit of encroachment with which in each successive power granted to Commissioners for treating on this subject, they have affected to display more at large their usurped dignities.

We must acknowledge that the Gentlemen we have met, are personally such as we could have wished to confer with.

We have the honour &c.

WEST HYDE.

JOHN ANDRE.

(C O P Y .)

Amboy, April 16th, 1779.

SIR,

WE have to give your Excellency some farther information as to our proceedings.

We find that the American Commissioners still urge the enlargement of our powers as necessary for a *general cartel*, but we evidently see that it is for the purpose of appearing to treat on the footing of a *nation* at war; and we cannot perceive that a concession on this head would have any other effect than giving them a triumph, especially as they introduce very improper matter to be acceded to, which this would not tend to remove.

We have candidly shewn them the ground on which we can proceed, and even made a proposal as to the rates at which officers of dissimilar ranks, and privates, might be exchanged for each other; but have told them on the other hand, that, if only a partial exchange was

L 3

WEST HYDE
JOHN ANDRE

to take place, we insisted on, and would not depart from our demand, of receiving private men, with officers in a battalion proportion; or by exchanging the soldiers of each regiment of the convention army at the same time with their officers, in order impartially to afford relief to all conditions of men.

They appear as though they felt they must accede to something of this nature, and consequently want to confine it as much as possible, and to reduce to the lowest, the proportion of privates given with officers, rejecting that proposed; and they lay some stress on the different value of our trained soldiers, enlisted for life, and their own troops, whose time of service is daily expiring, or who are a rude militia, lending a precarious assistance, thus justifying their reluctance to giving ours up; they also, with the utmost perseverance, strive to enhance the ranks they chiefly possess, and depreciate those where we have the advantage in number, without reference to precedent, or regard to impartiality.

The articles which they have shewn us in a model for a cartel are many of them utterly inadmissible, and for the most part are vague and obnoxious to wilful constructions, tending to furnish pretences for retaliative infringements.

Whatever success may attend our labours, they shall be unremitted: We shall continue to compare our ideas upon matters that can become the objects of this negotiation, and shall see, if (when all is rejected on both sides that cannot be agreed upon,) there will be a residue worthy of making the substance of a treaty. We shall at least acquire materials for evincing your Excellency's generous intentions, and the satisfaction of having followed up the enemy's difficulties, till we found them originating in severe and unjustifiable policy.

We shall be happy to know that your Ex-

cellency approves our conduct, and to receive
your farther commands and advice.

We have, &c.

WEST HYDE,
JOHN ANDRE,

Iris, off New-York, February 5th, 1781.

MR. RIVINGTON,

During the present Contest between Great Britain and the North-American Colonies, it has been the invariable Practice of their Leaders to misrepresent all Facts, as might best serve their Purposes, and prejudice or blind the Minds of their Fellow Subjects, less violent, and more honest, or more candid than themselves.

Of this Nature is the Affidavit lately published in a Boston News Paper, respecting the Treatment of the Naval Prisoners in our Possession—it has the same Object—but it cannot be successful; because an extensive and impartial Enquiry has taken Place, and the necessary Measures been adopted on our Part, to avert its baleful and pernicious Effects.

It is, therefore, become necessary, for the Attainment of this valuable and important Purpose, to publish to the World the inclosed Papers; and I desire you will accordingly insert them in your Paper.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

G. DAWSON.

New-Windsor, January 25th, 1781.

(Received at New-York, February 1, 1781.)

S I R,

THROUGH a variety of channels, representations of too serious a nature to be disregarded, have come to us, that the American naval prisoners in the harbour of New-York, are suffering all the extremities of distress—from a too crouded, and in all respects disagreeable and unwholesome situation on board the prison ships; and from the want of food and other necessaries. The picture given us of their sufferings is truly calamitous and deplorable; if just, it is the obvious interest of both parties, (to omit the plea of humanity) that the causes should, without delay, be enquired into, and removed; if false, it is equally

desirable that effectual measures should be taken to obviate misapprehension. This can only be done by permitting an officer of confidence on both sides, to visit the prisoners in their respective confinements, and examine into their true condition: This will either at once satisfy you, that by some abuse of trust, in the persons immediately charged with the care of the prisoners, their treatment is really such as has been described to us, and requires a change; or it will convince us that the clamours are ill grounded,

A disposition to aggravate the miseries of captivity, is too illiberal to be imputed to any but those subordinate characters, who in every service, are too often remiss or unprincipled. This reflection assures me you will acquiesce in the mode proposed for ascertaining the truth; for detecting delinquency on one side, or falsehood on the other,

The discussions and asperities which have had too much place on the subject of prisoners, are so irksome in themselves, and have had

so many ill consequences, that it is infinitely to be wished there may be no room given to revive them. The mode I have suggested, appears to me calculated to bring the present matter to a fair, direct, and satisfactory issue. I am sensible of no inconveniences it can be attended with, and I therefore hope for your concurrence. I shall be glad, as soon as possible, to hear from you on the subject.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,

And humble servant,

(Signed)

GEO. WASHINGTON.

Admiral Arbuthnot, or the Officer
commanding the British Fleet
at New-York.

Iris, off New-York, February 4th, 1781.

SIR,

AS Commanding Officer of his Majesty's ships at New-York, I have received your letter of the 25th ultimo, and inclose you the re-

sult of a very particular examination of the treatment of the Naval Prisoners in our possession.

An old sixty-four gun ship is allotted for their reception in this harbour, and every possible check has been established to prevent any practices from creeping in, in violation of the laws and precedents of war in similar situations.---The arrangement of exchange and parole is made by the Commissary-General, Mr. David Sproat.---Lieutenant Sporne, of the Royal Navy, an officer of experience and humanity, commands the prison-ship, which is victualled by a purser, with the very same provisions that the officers and seamen in the Royal Service are supplied with, and it is issued to them in the same manner.

I have transmitted your letter to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, who is at a distance from this port---if his Excellency allows one of your officers to come to New-York;

157
it is well.---Whilst it depends upon me, it is inadmissible.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient,
Humble Servant,

G. DAWSON,
Captain of his Majesty's Ship the Iris,
His Excellency General Washington.

REPORT of an Enquiry made this Day on Board his Majesty's Prison Ship the Jersey, under the Command of Lieutenant John Sporne, of the Royal Navy, respecting the Treatment and Usage of the Naval Prisoners in all Cases:

P R E S E N T,

Captain George Dawson, Commander of his Majesty's Ship the Iris.

Captain Rupert George, Commander of his Majesty's Ship the Avenger.

Captain James Batterby, of the 29th Regiment of Foot.

Ensign De Chambault of the 24th Regiment of Foot.

The object of the Enquiry being considered, was naturally found to divide itself into two points :

1st. Of the treatment of the prisoners with respect to good order and decorum.

2d. Of the administration of the King's allowance of provisions.

All the prisoners were ordered upon deck, mustered and examined upon these subjects—Six of the principal officers of which, viz.

Stephen Hopkins, late Commander of the Brigantine Maryland.

Thomas Hardy, first lieutenant of the same.

William Barrows, second lieutenant of the same.

Dr. Clement Smith, surgeon.

Robert Duncan, sailing master, and

John Cook, late master of the schooner Flying Fish, being witness thereto, ATTEST this report.

The under written being the oldest prisoners in our possession, viz.

William Johnson, Peter Deal,
Daniel M'Kip, William Beel,
John Royfter, and
Luzly Turpin Patrick Delay,

severally, collectively and voluntarily declare,
That they have been seven months prisoners
in the Royal service, and at different periods
confined in the prison ships Scorpion, Strom-
bolo, Hunter and Jersey.---That, with res-
pect to the first point, They firmly believe
their situation was made at all times as com-
fortable as possible, and that they were in no
instance oppressed or ill treated.

To the second point they declare, they re-
gularly received the under-mentioned weekly
allowance of provision, viz.

BREAD, sixty-six ounces,
BEEF, forty-three ounces,
PORK, twenty-two ounces,
BUTTER, eight ounces,
PEASE, one pint, and one sixth of a pint,
OATMEAL, two pints.

That it is, and ever has been issued to them
without drawback or deduction, and of the

very same species and quality with which the Commanders, Officers, Seamen, and Mariners, belonging to the said ships were victualled; as also, the Officers and privates of the respective guards, that have been from time to time placed over them: and that they have at all times had fuel and every necessary convenience for cooking.

We, the under-signed officers in his Majesty's service, declare on our honours, that the above testimony is confirmed and corroborated by that of every individual in the prison ship.

We also farther declare, and implicitly believe that the sickness at present among the prisoners, arises from a want of cloathing, and a proper attention in themselves to their own cleanliness.

The prisoners close their general testimony with an affirmation that they have never been, and are not now crowded in the prison ship, and that two or three of each rank are now, and have ever been permitted daily, to go on shore

to New York, to purchase for themselves, or on the part of the rest of the prisoners, whatever they might be in want of.

GIVEN under our hands on board his Majesty's ship, the Jersey, in the harbour of New York, the second day of February 1781.

Attested, (Signed) G. DAWSON.

RUPT. GEORGE.

JAS. BATTERSBY.

DE CHAMBAULT.

Attested, (Signed)

Stephen Hopkins,

Clement Smith,

Thomas Hardy,

Robert Duncan,

Wm. Barrows,

John Cook.

HENRY DAVIES, Esquire, Agent for victualling his Majesty's fleet in North America, under the command of his Excellency Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot, voluntarily maketh oath, that the provisions supplied to prisoners in the naval department, are and have been from the thirteenth day of June last (when this deponent entered on his present office)

M

issued from the King's provisions under his care, and that he hath uniformly ordered provisions to be issued to the naval prisoners of the same kind, species, goodness and quality as at the same times were furnished to the Royal Navy, which orders he believes were strictly and impartially complied with: And this deponent further saith, that no condemned or returned provisions have ever been issued to any prisoner or prison ship by the order or to the knowledge or belief of this deponent, but the same have been always sold on account of the crown, at public auction, by Messrs. John M'Adams and Company, or Messrs. M'Adam, Watson and Company, of the said City, Vendue Masters.

HENRY DAVIES.

*Sworn, this 3d day
of February, 1781,*

Before me,

D. MATHEWS, Mayor.

ALEXANDER M'KEAN, Purser of
his Majesty's ship the Charlestown,

maketh oath that he served as Clerk in the office of the Agent Victualler to his Majesty's fleet on the coast of North-America, for upwards of three years, preceding the first day of July last, and that from the first day of October, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, to the said first day of July last, all orders for issuing provisions from the said office, passed through his hands; and that the orders for issuing provisions for the use of the naval prisoners on board the several prison ships in the harbour of New-York, were, during the time this deponent acted as issuing clerk as aforesaid, the same in every respect, with the orders issued during the same period for victualling his Majesty's ships; and this deponent believes, the provisions furnished to the naval prisoners, in obedience to such orders, were of the same goodness and quality, as the provisions supplied at the same time to the seamen in the Royal Navy; and this deponent further saith, that no condemned, returned, or unserviceable provisions, were, ever to his knowledge or belief, during the time he was in the Agent Victualler's office,

issued to any naval prisoner, but such provisions were always sold at public auction, by order from the Agent Victualler for the time being, on government account.

A. M'KEAN.

*Sworn this 3d day of
February, 1781,*

Before me,

D. MATHEWS, Mayor.

JOSEPH SHORT, of the city of New-York, gentleman, maketh oath that he hath served as a clerk in the office of the Agent for victualling his Majesty's fleet on the coast of North-America, for four years last past; and that from the first day of July last, all orders for issuing provisions have passed through his hands; and that the orders for supplying provisions to the naval prisoners in the port of New-York, have been uniformly made out in the same manner as orders to supply his Majesty's ships; and this deponent believes that provisions of the same goodness, species and quality, have been issued to such pri-

Andrew Stalker, Master of the ship Nelly

soners, as during the same period were issued to the seamen in the Royal Navy, and that no condemned or returned provisions were ever issued to any naval prisoner in the port of New-York, but the same have been always sold, on account of the Crown, at public vendue.

J. SHORT.

Sworn, this 3d day of

February, 1781,

Before me,

D. MATHEWS, Mayor.

JOHN GRIFFITH, Master of the ship George and James; Isaac Amory, Master of the ship Henry; William Llewellyn, Master of the brigantine Artemesia; John Daniel, Master of the ship William; Benjamin Coulson, Master of the brigantine Blessing; Robert Birch, Master of the ship Stakeby; James Burton, Master of the ship British Queen; Alexander Anderson, Master of the brigantine Brunswick; Thomas Harman, Master of the ship Grand Duke; Henry Hurst, Master of the brigantine Thompson; Andrew Stalker, Master of the ship Nelly

Joseph Clerk, Master of the ship Jason; John Hudson, Master of the ship Benjamin; and George Littleton, Master of the ship London; each speaking for himself severally, maketh oath that the before-mentioned ships and brigantines under their command, are navy victuallers, and that these deponents have at different times, in obedience to orders received for that purpose, from the Agent Victualler to his Majesty's Navy on the coast of North-America, delivered provisions for the use of the naval prisoners confined on board the prison ships in the harbour of New-York, and that such provisions were of the same kind, goodness and quality, as provisions delivered by these deponents for the use of his Majesty's Navy, at the same periods of time, and were taken from their cargoes impartially, and without distinction, in the same manner as for the use of the seamen on board the King's ships. And these deponents, John Griffith, William Llewellyn, Alexander Anderson, and James Burton, say, that the same method of impartially supplying provisions of the like quality with those issued for his Majesty's seamen to the naval prisoners in

the harbour of New-York, has been invariably practised by the masters of naval victuallers for upwards of four years last past, during which time, they, the said John Griffith, William Llewellyn, Alexander Anderson, and James Burton, have been in the victualling service.

JOHN GRIFFITH,

ISAAC AMORY,

WILLIAM LLEWELLYN,

JOHN DASHIEL,

BENJAMIN COULSON,

ROBERT BIRCH,

JAMES BURTON,

ALEX. ANDERSON,

THOMAS HARMAN,

HENRY HURST,

ANDREW STALKER,

JOSEPH CLARK,

JOHN HUDSON,

GEORGE LITTLETON.

Sworn, this 3d day of

February, 1781,

Before me,

D. MATHEWS, Mayor

of New-York.

M 4

JOHNS DRAKE, of the city of New-York, gentleman, maketh oath, that having been appointed on the ninth day of August last to superintend the victualling of all prisoners in the Naval Department at New-York, and continued in the said office to the ninth day of December last, he, this deponent, during the said period, constantly inspected and examined the provisions issued to the prisoners on board the different prison ships in the harbour of New-York: And this deponent saith, that such provisions were always of the same species, quality and goodness, as were supplied to the seamen on board his Majesty's ships on the North-American station, and were received by him from on board different navy victuallers, then issuing provisions of the like kind to the Royal Navy; and that the rations or allowance of provisions to each prisoner for one week, hath uniformly been sixty-six ounces of bread, forty-three ounces of beef, twenty-two ounces of pork, one pint and one sixth of a pint of pease, two pints of oatmeal, and eight ounces of butter, which quantity was

regularly served to each prisoner every week without any deduction or drawback, and that no condemned or unserviceable provisions were issued to any naval prisoner in the harbour of New-York, during the time that this deponent superintended their victualling as aforesaid.

JOHN DRAKE.

Sworn this 3d day of

February, 1781,

Before me,

D. MATHEWS, *Mayor.*

PPETER ROBERTSON, acting purser of his Majesty's prison ship the *Jersey*, maketh oath, that he hath acted as Purser of the said ship during the time she has been employed as a prison ship, and that the allowance to each prisoner for one week is sixty-six ounces of bread, forty-three ounces of beef, twenty-two ounces of pork, one pint, and one sixth of a pint of pease, two pints of oatmeal, and eight ounces of butter, which quantity of provisions hath constantly

been and still is served out to each prisoner (by daily allowance) every week without any deduction, abatement, or drawback for eighths or otherwise, and that such provisions have always been the same in goodness and quality as were supplied to the crews of his Majesty's said hospital ship, and the other King's ships on the North-American station during the same period.

PETER ROBERTSON.

Sworn this 3d day of

February, 1781,

Before me,

D. MATHEWS, *Mayor.*

JEREMIAH DOWNER, mariner, a native of Boston, in New England, maketh oath that he commanded his Majesty's prison ship the Strombolo, in the harbour of New-York, from twenty-first day of August to the tenth day of December last, during which time the provisions issued to the prisoners confined on

board, were of the same goodness and quality as those issued to the seamen belonging to the Strombolo, and the same as at that time were issued to the seamen in the Royal Navy, and that the weekly allowance to each prisoner was invariably sixty-six ounces of bread, forty-three ounces of beef, twenty-two ounces of pork, one pint and one sixth of a pint of pease, two pints of oat meal, and eight ounces of butter; which was faithfully served out to them every week, by daily allowance: And this deponent further saith, that the number of prisoners confined on board the Strombolo, whilst under his command, was never less than one hundred and fifty at one time, and frequently above two hundred, and that only one prisoner died on board the said prison ship Strombolo, whilst under his command as aforesaid.

JEREMIAH DOWNER.

Sworn this 3d day of

February, 1781,

Before me,

D. MATHEWS, Mayor.

GENERAL WASHINGTON,
ON PUBLIC SERVICE,
To the Honourable BENJAMIN HARRISON, Esq.
Speaker of the House of Delegates.
Richmond, Virginia,
HEAD-QUARTERS, (*New Windsor,*)
27th March, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

ON my return from Newport I found your favour of the 16th of February, with its inclosures, at Head-Quarters. I exceedingly regret that I could not have the pleasure of seeing you, not only from personal motives, but because I could have entered upon the subject of your mission, in a much more free and full manner than is proper to be committed to paper.

I very early saw the difficulties and dangers to which the southern states would be exposed, for resources of cloathing arms and ammunition, and recommended magazines to be established, as ample as their circumstances would admit. It is true they are not

of the Marquis de la Fayette with a garrison

so full of men as the northern states, but they ought for that reason to have been more assiduous in raising a permanent force, to have been always ready, because they cannot draw a body of men together as sudden as their exigencies may require. That policy has unhappily not been pursued either here or there, and we are now suffering from the remnant of a British army what they could not, in the beginning, accomplish with their force at the highest.

As your requisitions go to men, arms, ammunition and cloathing, I shall give you a short detail of our situation and prospects, as to the first, and of our supplies and expectations as to the three last.

MEN. By the expiration of the times of service of the old troops—by the discharge of the levies engaged for the campaign only—and by the unfortunate dissolution of the Pennsylvania line, I was left, previous to the march of the detachment under the command of the Marquis de la Fayette, with a garrison

barely sufficient for the security of West-Point—and two regiments in Jersey to support the communication between the Delaware and North-River. The York troops I had been obliged to send up for the security of the frontier of that state. Weak however as we were, I determined to attempt the dislodgment of Arnold in conjunction with the French fleet and army, and made the detachment to which I have alluded.

In my late tour to the eastward, I found the accounts I had received, of the progress of recruiting in those states, had been much exaggerated, and I fear we shall, in the end, be obliged again to take a great proportion of their quotas in levies for the campaign instead of soldiers for three years or for the war. The regiments of New-York, having been reduced to two, they have but few men to raise. Jersey depends upon voluntary enlistments upon a contracted bounty, and I cannot therefore promise myself much success from the mode. The Pennsylvania line you

know is ordered to compose part of the southern army. General Wayne is so sanguine as to suppose he will soon be able to move on with 1000 or 1200 men, but I fancy he rather over-rates the matter.

You will readily perceive from the foregoing state, that there is little probability of adding to the force already ordered to the southward. Nor should the battalions from New-Hampshire to New-Jersey inclusive be completed (a thing not to be expected) we shall, after the necessary detachments for the frontiers and other purposes are made, have an army barely sufficient to keep the enemy in check in New-York. Except this is done, they will have nothing to hinder them from further reinforcements to the southward, and to be obliged to follow by land every detachment of their army, which they always make by sea, will only end in a fruitless dissipation of what may now be called the northern army. You may be assured that the most powerful diversion that can be made in favour of the southern states, will be a respectable

force in the neighbourhood of New-York. I have hitherto been speaking of our own resources. Should a reinforcement arrive to the French fleet and army, the face of matters may be entirely changed.

Arms. I do not find that we can, at any rate, have more than 2000 stand of arms to spare, perhaps not so many. For should the battalions which are to compose this army be compleat or nearly so, they will take all that are in repair or repairable. The 2000 stand came in the Alliance from France, and I have kept them apart for an exigency.

Ammunition. Our stock of ammunition, though competent to the defensive, is, by a late estimate of the Commanding Officer of Artillery, vastly short of an offensive operation of any consequence. Should circumstances put it in our power to attempt such an one, we must depend upon the private magazines of the States, and upon our Allies. On the contrary, should the defensive plan be determined upon, what ammunition can be

spared, will be undoubtedly sent to the southward.

Cloathing. Of cloathing we are in a manner exhausted. We have not enough for the few recruits which may be expected, and except that which has been so long looked for and talked of from France should arrive, the troops must, next winter, go naked unless their states can supply them.

From the foregoing representation, you will perceive that the proportion of the continental army, already allotted to southern service, is as much as, from present appearances, can be spared for that purpose, and that a supply of arms, ammunition, or cloathing of any consequence must depend, in a great measure, upon future purchases or importations.

Nothing which is within the compass of my power shall be wanting to give support to the southern states, but you may readily conceive how irksome a thing it must be to me

[178]

to be called upon for assistance, when I have not the means of affording it.

I am, with the greatest regard,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and humble Servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

Hon. Benj. Harrison, Esq.

TO MR. LUND WASHINGTON, AT MOUNT
VERNON, VIRGINIA.

New Windsor, March 28th, 1781.

DEAR LUND,

SINCE my last your letter of the 14th
inst. is received. If Mr. Triplet has
got as much land as he has given, and you
have paid him the cash difference, with a
proper allowance for the depreciation since
the bargain was made, I am at a loss to dis-
cover the ground of his complaint---and if
men will complain without cause, it is a
matter of no great moment. It always was,
and now is my wish to do him justice, and if
there is any thing lacking in it, delay not to

give full measure of justice, because I had rather exceed than fall short.

We have heard nothing certain of the two fleets since they left their respective ports.—We wait with impatient anxiety for advices from Chesapeake, and the southern army—God send they may be favourable to us.—A detachment from New-York has made two or three attempts to put to sea (for the purpose, it is said, of reinforcing either Arnold or Cornwallis) and as often returned—My last accounts from New-York mention another attempt on the 25th, but whether with truth, or not, it is not in my power to say.—It was unfortunate—but this I mention in confidence—that the French fleet and detachment did not undertake the enterprise they are now upon, when I first proposed it to them.—The destruction of Arnold's corps would then have been inevitable before the British fleet could have been in a condition to put to sea. Instead of this the small squadron, which took the Romu-

lus and other vessels, was sent, and could not, as I foretold, do any thing without a land force at Portsmouth.

I am,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

Extract of an intercepted letter from General Washington, to the Marquis de la Fayette, dated New-Windsor, May 31, 1781.

IN a letter which I wrote to Baron Steuben on the 16th inst. I desired him to inform you, as I did not know at that time where you might be, that I had good reason to believe a detachment of between 1500 and 2000 men had sailed from New-York a few days before: I now have it confirmed, and I think you may either look for them in Chesapeake, or further southwards.

Your determination to avoid an engagement with your present force is certainly

judicious. I hope the Pennsylvanians have begun their march before this, but I have no information of it. General Wayne has been pressed, both by Congress and the Board of War, to make as much expedition as possible, and extraordinary powers are given to him to enable him to procure provisions.

Extract of a private intercepted letter from General Washington to the Marquis de la Fayette, dated New-Windsor, May 31, 1781.

I HAVE just returned from Weathersfield, at which I expected to have met the Count de Rochambeau and Count de Barcas; but the British fleet having made its appearance off Block Island, the Admiral did not think it prudent to leave Newport. Count Rochambeau was only attended by Chevalier Chattelleux. Generals Knox and Duportail were with me.

Upon a full consideration of our affairs in every point of view, an attempt upon New-

York, with its present garrison (which, by estimation, is reduced to 4500 regular troops, and about 3000 irregulars) was deemed preferable to a southern operation, as we had not the command of the water. The reasons which induced this determination were, the danger to be apprehended from the approaching heats, the inevitable dissipation and loss of men by so long a march, and the difficulty of transportation; but above all, it was thought that we had a tolerable prospect of expelling the enemy, or obliging them to withdraw part of their force from the southward, which last would give the most effectual relief to those states. The French troops are to march this way as soon as certain circumstances will admit, leaving about 200 men at Providence with the heavy stores, and 500 militia upon Rhode-Island to secure the works.

I am endeavouring to prevail upon the States to fill up their battalions for the campaign, if they cannot do it upon better terms, and to send in ample and regular sup-

plies of provisions. Thus you perceive it will be some time before our plan can be ripe for execution, and that a failure on our part in men and supplies may defeat it; but I am in hopes that the states in this quarter will exert themselves to attain what has long been a favourite, and is an important object to them.

Copy of an intercepted letter from General Washington to General Sullivan, dated Headquarters, New-Windsor, May 29, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE been favoured with your two letters of the 2d and 17th of May, the former reached me at Weathersfield after I had met the Count de Rochambeau at that place; from which time to the present moment, my whole attention has been so occupied by a variety of concerns, that I have been hitherto involuntarily prevented from doing myself the pleasure of writing to you.

No arguments were necessary to convince me of the great public utility, which would result from the success of the plan you proposed laying before Congress. Had I been unapprized of the advantages which might be derived to our cause from a successful attempt, or even a powerful diversion in that quarter, the reasons you have offered would have carried irrefragable demonstration with them, and induced me to be of your opinion. But the perplexed, distressed and embarrassed state of our affairs on account of supplies (with which you are well acquainted) the languid efforts of the states to procure men, and the insuperable difficulty in the way of transportation, would, I apprehend, have rendered the scheme (however devoutly to be wished and desired) abortive in the first instance. And I must inform you, there is yet another obstacle, which makes the attempt you have suggested *absolutely impracticable*, with the means you propose, but which I dare not commit to paper, for fear of the misfortune, which has already happened to some of my letters.

You will have seen before the receipt of this, by my public letter to Congress, of the 27th inst. the result of the deliberations of the Count de Rochambeau and myself at Weathersfield. That plan, upon the maturest consideration, and after combining all the present circumstances and future prospects, appeared (though precarious) far the most eligible of any we could possibly devise. The object was considered to be of great magnitude and more within our reach than any other. The weakness of the garrison of New-York, the central position for drawing together men and supplies, and the spur which an attempt against that place would give to every exertion, were among the reasons which prompted to that undertaking, and which promised the fairest prospect of success, unless the enemy should recall a considerable part of their force from the southward: and even in that case, the same measure which might produce disappointment in one quarter, would certainly in the event afford the greatest relief in another.

While an opportunity presents itself of striking the enemy a fatal blow, I will persuade myself the concurring exertions of Congress, of the several states immediately concerned, and of every individual in them, who is well affected to our cause, will be united in yielding every possible aid on the occasion. At this crisis, while I rejoice at the appointment of the Minister of Finance, I have sincerely to regret, that the Ministers of the other departments have not also been appointed, especially a Minister of War. At the same time, I am happy to learn, the mode of promotion is on the point of being finally established.

With the highest sentiments of regard and esteem, I am, &c.

(Signed)

G. WASHINGTON.

Hon. General Sullivan.

The following dispatches were transmitted from General Washington to the Congress by Col. Tench Tilghman, one of his Aids-de-Camp.

Head-Quarters, near York, 19th Oct. 1781.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform Congress, that a reduction of the British army under the command of Lord Cornwallis, is most happily effected. The unremitting ardour which actuated every officer, and soldier in the combined army on this occasion, has principally led to this important event, at an earlier period than my most sanguine hopes had induced me to expect.

The singular spirit of emulation which animated the whole army from the first commencement of our operations, has filled my mind with the highest pleasure and satisfaction, and had given me the happiest presages of success.

On the 17th inst. a letter was received from Lord Cornwallis, proposing a meeting of

Commissioners to consult on terms for the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester. This letter (the first that had passed between us) opened a correspondence, a copy of which I do myself the honour to inclose; that correspondence was followed by the definitive capitulation, which was agreed to and signed on the 19th, copy of which is herewith transmitted; and which I hope will meet with the approbation of Congress.

I should be wanting in the feelings of gratitude, did I not mention on this occasion with the warmest sense of acknowledgment, the very cheerful and able assistance which I have received in the course of our operations, from his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau—Nothing could equal this zeal of our allies, but the imitating spirit of the American officers, whose ardour would not suffer their exertions to be exceeded.

The very uncommon degree of duty and fatigue, which the nature of the service required from the officers of engineers and ar-

tillery of both armies, obliges me particularly to mention the obligations I am under to the commanding and other officers of those corps.

I wish it was in my power to express to Congress, how much I feel myself indebted to the Count de Grasse and the officers of the fleet under his command, for the distinguished aid and support which has been afforded by them, between whom and the army, the most happy concurrence of sentiments and views have subsisted, and from whom every possible co-operation has been experienced, which the most harmonious intercourse could afford.

Returns of the prisoners, military stores, ordnance, shipping, and other matters, I shall do myself the honour to transmit to Congress as soon as they can be collected by the heads of departments to which they belong.

Col. Laurens, and the Viscount de Noailles on the part of the combined army, were the gentlemen who acted as commissioners for forming and settling the terms of capitula-

tion and surrender, herewith transmitted, to whom I am particularly obliged for their readiness and attention exhibited on the occasion.

Col. Tilghman, one of my Aids-de-Camp, will have the honour to deliver these dispatches to your Excellency; he will be able to inform you of every minute circumstance which is not particularly mentioned in my letter. His merits, which are too well known to need any observations at this time, have gained my particular attention, and I could wish that they may be honoured by the notice of your Excellency and Congress.

Your Excellency and Congress, will be pleased to accept my congratulations on this happy event, and believe me to be, with the highest respect and esteem,

Str, your Excellency's,

Most obedient humble Servant,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

P. S. Though I am not possessed of the particular returns, yet I have reason to sup-

pose that the number of prisoners will be between five and six thousand, exclusive of seamen and others.

His Excellency the
President of Congress.

No. 1.

York, Virginia, Oct. 17, 1781.

SIR,

I PROPOSE a cessation of hostilities for 24 hours, and that two officers may be appointed by each side to meet at Mr. Moore's house, to settle terms for the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient,

And humble Servant,

CORNWALLIS.

To his Excellency Gen. Washington,
commanding the combined forces
of France and America.

No. II.

Camp before York, 17th October, 1781.

MY LORD,

I HAVE had the honour of receiving your Lordship's letter of this date.

An ardent desire to spare the further effusion of blood will readily incline me to listen to such terms for the surrender of your posts of York and Gloucester as are admissible.

I wish previous to the meeting of Commissioners, that your Lordship's proposals in writing may be sent to the American lines; for which purpose a suspension of hostilities during two hours from the delivery of this letter will be granted.

I have the honour to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

And most humble Servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Gen. Earl

Cornwallis, commanding

his Britannic Majesty's

forces in York and Glou-

cester.

No. III.

*York, in Virginia, half past 4, P. M.**17th October, 1781.*

SIR,

I HAVE this moment been honoured with your Excellency's letter dated this day.

The time limited for sending my answer will not admit of entering into the detail of articles. But the basis of my proposals will be, that the garrisons of York and Gloucester shall be prisoners of war, with the customary honours, and for the conveniency of the individuals which I have the honour to command, that the British shall be sent to Britain, and the Germans to Germany, under the engagement not to serve against France, America, or their allies, until released, or regularly exchanged. That all arms and public stores shall be delivered up to you, but that the usual indulgence of side arms to officers, and of retaining private property, shall be granted to officers and soldiers; and that the interest of several individuals in civil capacities, and connected with us, shall be attended to. If

O

your Excellency thinks that a continuance of the suspension of hostilities will be necessary to transmit your answer, I shall have no objections to the hour that you propose.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient,

And most humble Servant,

CORNWALLIS.

His Excellency Gen. Washington,

commanding, &c.

No. IV.

Head Quarters, before York, Oct. 18, 1781.

My Lord,

To avoid unnecessary discussions and delays, I shall at once, in answer to your Lordship's letter of yesterday, declare the general basis upon which a definitive treaty of capitulation must take place. The garrisons of York and Gloucester, including the seamen, as you proposed, will be received prisoners of war: The condition annexed, of sending the British and German troops to the parts of Europe to which they respectively belong, is inadmissible; instead

of this, they will be marched to such parts of the country as can most conveniently provide for their subsistence; and the benevolent treatment of prisoners, which is invariably observed by the Americans, will be extended to them. The same honours will be granted to the surrendering army, as were granted to the garrison of Charleston.

The shipping and boats in the two harbours, with all their guns, stores, tackling, furniture and apparel, shall be delivered in their present state to an officer of the navy appointed to take possession of them.

The artillery, arms, accoutrements, military chest, and public stores of every denomination, shall be delivered, unimpaired to the heads of departments to which they respectively belong.

The officers will be indulged in retaining their side arms, and the officers and soldiers may preserve their baggage and effects; with this reserve, that property taken in the country will be reclaimed.

With regard to the individuals in civil capacities, whose interests your Lordship wishes may be attended to, until they are more particularly described, nothing definitive can be settled. I have to add, that I expect the sick and wounded will be supplied with their own hospital stores, and be attended by British surgeons, particularly charged with the care of them.

Your Lordship will be pleased to signify your determination, either to accept or reject the proposals now offered, in the course of two hours from the delivery of this letter, that Commissioners may be appointed to digest the articles of capitulation; or a renewal of hostilities may take place.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, &c.

G. WASHINGTON.

To Lieut. Gen. Earl Cornwallis,
commanding, &c.

No. V.

York, in Virginia, 18th Oct. 1781.

SIR,

I AGREE to open a treaty of capitulation; upon the basis of the garrisons of York and Gloucester, including seamen, being prisoners of war without annexing the condition of their being sent to Europe; but I expect to receive a compensation in arranging the articles of capitulation for the surrender of York-Town in its present state of defence. I shall in particular, desire that the Bonetta sloop of war may be left entirely at my disposal from the hour the capitulation is signed; to receive an aid-de-camp to carry my dispatches to Sir Henry Clinton, and such soldiers as I may think proper to send as passengers in her, to be manned with 50 men of her own crew, and to be permitted to sail without examination, when my dispatches are ready; engaging on my part, that the ship shall be brought back and delivered to you, if she escapes the dangers of the sea; that the crew and soldiers sent as passengers shall be

accounted for in future exchanges as prisoners; that she shall carry off no officer without your consent, nor public property of any kind: and I shall likewise desire that the traders and inhabitants may preserve their property, and that no person may be punished for having joined the British troops.

If you chuse to proceed to negociation on these grounds, I shall appoint two field officers of my army to meet two officers from you, at any time and place that you think proper, to digest the articles of capitulation.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient

And most humble Servant,

CORNWALLIS.

His Excellency Gen. Washington,
commanding, &c.

[Here followed the Articles of Capitulation agreed on between the two Commanders.]

*Letter from General Washington, to the President of Congress, dated
Head-Quarters, near York, Oct. 27, 1781.*

SIR,

I DO myself the honour to inclose to your Excellency copies of returns of prisoners, artillery, arms, ordnance, and other stores, surrendered by the enemy in their posts of York and Gloucester on the 19th instant, which were not compleated at the time of my dispatches, and but this moment handed to me: A draft of these posts with the plan of attack and defence is herewith transmitted; and twenty-four standards taken at the same time, are ready to be laid before Congress.

My present dispatches being important, I have committed to the care of Colonel Humphrey, one of my aides-de-camp, whom, for his attention, fidelity and good services, I beg leave to recommend to Congress and your Excellency.

[Here followed a general return of prisoners, stores, &c. &c.]

MR. RIVINGTON,

THE following letter from Mr. Washington, to the Count de Grasse, appeared in the Paris papers of the 30th of November last: as I have seen no such publication in any of the prints on this side of the water, I send you a translation of it for insertion in your Gazette.

I am, &c.

Williamsburg, Sept. 26, 1781.

I AM unable to describe to your Excellency the painful anxiety, under which I have laboured, since the reception of the letter you did me the honour to write me of the 23d instant.---The motions of the naval force under your command, which your Excellency says may possibly happen, since the information communicated to you by the Baron de Clozen, obliges me to point out the consequences that may follow, and warmly to urge a perseverance in the plan agreed upon between us, permit me, in the first place, to repeat to your Excellency, that the attempt

upon York, under the protection of your shipping, is as certain of success, as a superior force, and a superiority of measures can render any military operation; that the duration of the siege may be exactly ascertained; and, that the capture of the British army is a matter so important in itself, and in its consequences, that it must greatly tend to bring an end to the war, and put our allied armies in certain possession of the most inestimable advantages.

If your Excellency quits the Bay, an access is open to relieve York, of which the enemy will instantly avail themselves. The consequences of this will be not only the disgrace of abandoning a design on which are founded the fairest hopes of the allied forces, after a prodigious expence, fatigue, and exertion, but the probable disbanding of the whole army; for the present seat of the war being such, as absolutely precludes the use of waggon, from the great number of large rivers which intersect the country, there will be a total want

of provisions, unless this inconvenience is remedied by water carriage. This province has been so exhausted by the ravages of the enemy, and by the support already given to our forces, that subsistence must be drawn from a distance, and that can be done only by a fleet superior in the Bay.

I earnestly beg your Excellency would consider, that if, by moving your fleet from the situation agreed on, we lose the present opportunity, we shall never hereafter have it in our power to strike so decisive a stroke. That the British will labour without intermission to fortify a place so useful to their shipping: and that then the period of an honourable peace will be farther distant than ever.

The confidence I have in your Excellency's manly spirit and naval talents, leaves me no doubt that the consideration of the consequences that must follow your departure from the Bay, will determine you to use all possible means for the good of the common cause. From the assurances of the most expert sailors, I am

persuaded that your Excellency may take such a position in the Bay, as to leave nothing to be apprehended that any attempt of the English fleet, from this position will, at the same time, facilitate the operations of the siege, secure the transportation of our provisions by water, and accelerate our approaches, by lancing our heavy artillery and warlike necessaries in York river, almost close to our trenches.

The force said to have arrived under Admiral Digby, as the news comes from the British themselves, may not only be exaggerated, but, perhaps, absolutely false; but, supposing it to be true, their whole force united cannot be such as to give them any hopes of success in the attacking your fleet. If the position for your ships to lie at an anchor, which we agreed upon, has since appeared impracticable, there is still another measure may be adopted, which though much inferior as to the security and facility it will give to our land operations, may still be of advantage to our affairs: the measures I mean is to cruize off the Bay, so

as to keep the Capes always in sight, and to prevent any English vessels getting in. Whatever plan you may adopt I am to press your Excellency to preserve in the scheme so happily concerted between us: but if you should find insurmountable obstacles in the way, let me ultimately beg of you not to relinquish the last mentioned alternative of preventing all vessels of the enemy entering the bay of Chesapeake. The British Admiral may manœuvre his fleet, and endeavour to draw you from the main object we have in view, but I can never believe that he will seriously wish to bring on a general action with the fleet, whose force, I will answer for it, is superior to the most exaggerated accounts we have of theirs. Passed experience has taught them not to hazard themselves with equal numbers, and has drawn from them, unwillingly, the most respectful opinions of their enemy. Permit me to add, that the absence of your fleet from the bay may frustrate our design upon the garrison at York; for, in the present situation of matters, Lord Cornwallis might evacuate the place with the loss of his artillery, baggage,

and a few men, sacrifices, which would be highly justifiable from the desire of saving the body of the army.

The Marquis de la Fayette, who does me the honour to carry this letter to your Excellency, will explain to you better than any other person, or than I can do by letter, many particulars of our present position. Your Excellency is acquainted with his candour and talents, which entitle him to your confidence. I have ordered him not to pass the Cape for fear of accident, in case you should be at sea, if this be so he will inclose this dispatch in a letter from himself.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

The following is a letter from his Excellency General Washington, to Sir Henry Clinton, on the subject of the murder of Captain Huddy.

Head-Quarters, April 21st, 1782.

SIR,

THE inclosed representation from the inhabitants of the county of Monmouth, with testimonials to the fact (which can be corroborated by other unquestionable evidence, will bring before your Excellency the most wanton, cruel, and unprecedented murder that ever disgraced the arms of a civilized people. I shall not, because I conceive it altogether unnecessary, to trouble your Excellency with any animadversions upon this transaction. Candour obliges me to be explicit; to save the innocent I demand the guilty.

Captain Lippencut therefore, or the officer who commanded at the execution of Captain Huddy, must be given up; or if that officer was of inferior rank to him, so many of the perpetrators as will according to the tariff

of exchange, be an equivalent. To do this will mark the justice of your Excellency's character. In failure of it, I shall hold myself justifiable, in the eye of God and man, for the measure to which I shall resort.

I beg your Excellency to be persuaded that it cannot be more disagreeable to you to be addressed in this language, than it is to me to offer it; but the subject requires frankness and decision.

I have to request your speedy determination, as my resolution is suspended but for your answer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

The following from General Sir Henry Clinton, was sent in answer to the preceding letter.

New-York, April 25, 1782.

SIR,
YOUR letter of the 21st inst. with the inclosed testimonials, respecting Captain Huddy's execution, was delivered to me yesterday, and though I am extremely

concerned for the cause, I cannot conceal my surprise and displeasure at the very improper language you have made use of, which you could not but be sensible was totally unnecessary.

The mildness of the British government does not admit of acts of cruelty or persecuting violence; and as they are notoriously contrary to the tenor of my own conduct and disposition (having never yet stained my hands with innocent blood) I must claim the justice of having it believed, that, if such have been committed by any persons under my command, they could not have been warranted by my authority, nor can they ever have the sanction of my approbation. My personal feelings, therefore, requires no such incitements to urge me to take every proper notice of the barbarous outrage against humanity (which you have represented to me) the moment it came to my knowledge; and accordingly, when I heard of Captain Huddy's death (which was only four days before I received your letter,) I instantly ordered a strict

enquiry to be made into all its circumstances, and shall bring the perpetrators of it to an immediate trial.

To sacrifice innocence under the notion of preventing guilt, in place of suppressing would be adopting barbarity, and raising it to the greatest height. Whereas if the violators of the laws of war, are punished by the Generals under whose power they act, the horrors, which those laws were formed to prevent, will be avoided, and every degree of humanity war is capable of, maintained.

Could violations of humanity be justified by examples, many from the parts where your power prevails, that exceed and probably gave rise to this in question, could be produced. In hope that the mode I mean to pursue, will be adopted by you, and prevent all future enormities,

I remain, &c.

(Signed)

H. C.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

P

Extract of a letter from his Excellency General Washington, to Congress, dated Head Quarters, May 10, 1782.

JUST as I am closing these dispatches, a letter from Sir Guy Carleton is handed me, covering sundry printed papers, a copy of which, with the papers, I have now the honour to enclose to your Excellency, together with a copy of my answer to him, and I flatter myself my conduct herein will be agreeable to the wishes of Congress.

Head Quarters, New-York, 7th May 1782.

SIR,

HAVING been appointed by his Majesty to the command of the forces on the Atlantic ocean, and joined with Admiral Digby in the Commission of Peace, I find it proper in this manner to apprise your Excellency of my arrival at New-York.

The occasion, Sir, seems to render this communication proper, but the circumstances

of the present time, render it also indispensable, as I find it just to transmit herewith to your Excellency certain papers, from the perusal of which your Excellency will perceive what dispositions prevail in the government and people of England towards those of America, and what further effects are likely to follow; if the like pacific disposition should prevail in this country, both my inclination and duty will lead me to meet it with the most zealous concurrence. In all events, Sir, it is with me to declare, that, if war must prevail, I shall endeavour to render its miseries as light to the people of this continent as the circumstances of such a condition will possibly permit.

I am much concerned to find that private and unauthorized persons have on both sides given way to those passions which ought to have received the strongest and most effectual controul, and which have begot acts of retaliation, which, without proper preventions, may have an extent equally calamitous and

dishonourable to both parties, though, as it should seem more extensively pernicious to the natives and settlers of this country.

How much soever, Sir, we may differ in other respects, upon this one point we must perfectly concur, being alike interested to preserve the name of Englishmen from reproach, and individuals from experiencing such unnecessary evils, as can have no effect upon a general decision; every proper measure which may tend to prevent these criminal excesses in individuals, I shall ever be ready to embrace; and as an advance on my part, I have, as the first act of my command, enlarged Mr. Livingston, and have written to his father upon the subject of such excesses as have passed in New-Jersey, desiring his concurrence in such measures, as, even under the conditions of war, the common interests of humanity require.

I am further to acquaint you Sir, that it was my intention to have sent this day a similar letter of compliment to Congress, but am informed it is previously necessary to obtain

a passport from your Excellency, which I therefore hope to receive, if you have no objection, for the passage of Mr. Morgan to Philadelphia, for the above purpose.

I have the honour to be,

With greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient

Humble Servant,

(Signed)

GUY CARLETON.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

Head Quarters, 10th May, 1782.

SIR,

I HAD the honour last evening to receive your Excellency's letter of the 7th, with the several papers inclosed.

Ever since the commencement of this unnatural war, my conduct has borne invariable testimony against those inhuman excesses which in too many instances have marked its various progress.

With respect to a late transaction, to which I presume your Excellency alludes, I have already expressed my fixed resolution—a re-

solution formed on the most mature deliberation, and from which I shall not recede.

I have to inform your Excellency, that your request of a passport for Mr. Morgan to go to Philadelphia, will be conveyed to Congress by the earliest opportunity, and you may rest assured that I will embrace the first moment to communicate to you their determination thereon.

Many inconveniencies and disorders having arisen from an improper admission of flags at various posts of the two armies, which have given rise to complaints on both sides; to prevent abuses in future, and for the convenience of communication, I have concluded to receive all flags from within your lines at the post of Dobb's Ferry, and no where else, so long as the Head-Quarters of the two armies remain as at present.

I have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's &c.

(Signed)

G. WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton.

*By the United States in Congress assembled,
May 14, 1782.*

THE letter of the 10th from the Commander in Chief being read, inclosing a copy of a letter to him from Sir Guy Carleton, dated Head-Quarters, New York, May 7th, 1782.

Resolved, That the Commander in Chief be and hereby is directed to refuse the request of Sir Guy Carleton, of a passport for Mr. Morgan to bring dispatches to Philadelphia.

Published by order of Congress.

CHARLES THOMPSON, Sec'y.

Head-Quarters, June 5th, 1782.

SIR,

BY a parole granted to two gentlemen, Messrs. Aborn and Bowen, I perceive that your Excellency has granted them permission to come to me with a representation of the sufferings of the American naval-prisoners at New-York.

As I have no agency on naval matters, this application to me is made on mistaken

grounds. But curiosity leading me to enquire into the nature and cause of their sufferings, I am informed that the principal complaint is, that of their being crowded, especially at this season, in great numbers on board of foul and infectious prison ships, where disease and death are almost inevitable. This circumstance I am persuaded needs only to be mentioned to your Excellency to obtain that redress which is in your power *only* to afford, and which humanity so strongly prompts,

If the fortune of war, Sir, has thrown a number of these miserable people into your hands, I am certain your Excellency's feelings for fellow-men, must induce you to proportion the ships (if they must be confined on board ships) to their accommodation and comfort, and not by crowding them together in a few, bring on disorders which consign them by half dozens in a day to the grave.

The soldiers of his Britannic Majesty, prisoners with us, were they (which might be the case) to be equally crowded together in

close and confined prisons, at this season, would
be exposed to equal loss and misery.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient

Humble Servant,

(Signed)

GEO. WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Rear-Admiral Digby.

New-York, June 8, 1782.

SIR,

MY feelings prompted me to grant Messrs.
Aborn and Bowen permission to wait
on your Excellency to represent their miser-
able situation. And if your Excellency's
feelings on this occasion are like mine, you
will not hesitate one moment relieving both
the British and Americans suffering under con-
finement.

I have the honour to be

Your Excellency's

Very obedient Servant,

(Signed)

R. DIGBY.

His Excellency General Washington.

Copy of a letter from Sir Guy Carleton, and Rear-Admiral Digby, to General Washington, dated New-York, August 2, 1782. Written in consequence of directions from England, and published at the request of the inhabitants of New-York.

New-York, August 2d, 1782.

SIR,

THE pacific disposition of the Parliament and people of England towards the Thirteen Provinces, has already been communicated to you, and the Resolutions of the House of Commons of the 27th February last, have been placed in your Excellency's hands, and intimations given at the same time, that further pacific measures were likely to follow. Since which, until the present time, we have had no direct communications from England; but a mail is now arrived which brings us very important information.

We are acquainted, Sir, by authority, that negotiations for a general peace have already commenced at Paris; and that Mr. Grenville

is invested with full powers to treat with all the parties at war; and is now at Paris in the execution of his commission.

And we are further, Sir, made acquainted, that his Majesty, in order to remove all obstacles to that peace which he so ardently wishes to restore, has commanded his ministers to direct Mr. Grenville, that the Independency of the Thirteen Provinces should be proposed by him, in the first instance, instead of making it a condition of a general treaty; however not without the highest confidence, that the Loyalists shall be restored to their possessions, or a full compensation made them for whatever confiscations may have taken place.

With respect to Mr. Laurens, we are to acquaint you, that he has been enlarged, and discharged from all engagements without any condition whatever, after which he de-

clared of his own accord, that he considered Lord Cornwallis as freed from his parole. Upon this point we are to desire your Excellency's sentiments, or those of Congress.

We are further acquainted that transports have been prepared in England for conveying all the American prisoners to this country, to be exchanged here; and we are directed to urge, by every consideration of humanity, the most speedy exchange; a measure in which, not only the comforts, but the rights of individuals are concerned. A proposition has already been made, that (all exchanges of men of the same description being exhausted) sailor and soldier, shall be immediately exchanged, man for man, against each other, with this condition annexed, that your sailors shall be at liberty to serve the moment they are exchanged, and the soldiers so received by us shall not serve, in or against the Thirteen

Provinces for one year, and from this proposition we do not now wish to recede.

We have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's

Most obedient and most

Humble Servants,

(Signed)

GUY CARLETON.

R. DIGBY.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

Copy of an order from Congress releasing Capt. Asgill.

By the United States in Congress assembled.
November 7, 1782.

ON the report of a Committee to whom was referred a letter of the 19th of August from the Commander in Chief, a report of a Committee thereon, and motion of Mr. Williamson and Mr. Rutledge relative thereto, and also another letter of the 25th of October from the Commander in Chief with a copy of a letter from the Count de

Vergennes, dated the 29th day of July last,
interceding for Capt. Apgill.

Resolved,

That the Commander in Chief be directed,
and he is hereby directed to set Capt. Apgill at
liberty.

CHARLES THOMPSON, Sec'y.

*Copy of a letter from General Washington, to
Capt. Apgill, covering the above Resolve.*

Head-Quarters, 13th November.

SIR,

IT affords me singular pleasure to have it
in my power to transmit you the in-
closed copy of an act of Congress of the
7th inst. by which you are released from the
disagreeable circumstances in which you have
so long been. Supposing you would wish
to go into New-York as soon as possible, I
also inclose a passport for that purpose.

Your letter of the 18th of October, came
regularly to my hands, I beg you to believe
that my not answering it sooner did not pro-

ceed from inattention to you, or a want of feeling for your situation, I daily expected a determination of your case, and I thought it better to await that, than to feed you with hopes that might in the end prove fruitless. You will attribute my detention of the inclosed letters, which have been in my hands about a fortnight, to the same cause.

I cannot take leave of you, Sir, without assuring you, that in whatever light my agency in this unpleasing affair may be received, I never was influenced through the whole of it by sanguinary motives, but by what I conceived a sense of my duty, which loudly called upon me to take measures, however disagreeable, to prevent a repetition of those enormities which have been the subject of discussion, and that this important end is likely to be answered without the effusion of the blood of an innocent person, is not a greater relief to you, than it is to Sir,

Your most obedient,

And humble Servant,

(Signed)

G WASHINGTON.

The following are extracts of letters, which passed between his Excellency General Washington and Sir Guy Carleton.

Extract of a letter from his Excellency General Washington to Sir Guy Carleton, dated

Head-Quarters, Sept. 8, 1782.

I CANNOT help remarking, that your Excellency has several times lately taken occasion to mention that all hostilities stand suspended on your part—I must confess that to me this expression wants explanation: I can have no conception of a suspension of hostilities, but that which arises from a mutual agreement of the powers at war, and which extends to naval as well as land operations.—That your Excellency has thought proper, on your part to make a partial suspension, may be admitted; but whether this has been owing to political or other motives is not for me to decide, it is however, a well known fact, that at the same time the British cruizers on our coast have been more than usually alert; and while Americans are admitted to understand

their real interest, it will be difficult for them, when a suspension of hostilities is spoken of, to separate the idea of its extending to sea as well as land.

I cannot ascribe the inroads of savages upon our north-western frontiers to the causes from whence your Excellency supposes them to originate; neither can I allow that they are committed without directions from the Commander in Chief in Canada; for by prisoners and deserters, it is apparent, that those ravaging parties are composed of white troops under the command of officers regularly commissioned, as well as savages; and it would be a solecism to suppose, that such parties could be out without the knowledge of their Commander in Chief."

Extract of a letter from Sir Guy Carleton to his Excellency General Washington, dated New-York, September 12, 1782.

PARTIAL though our suspension of hostilities may be called, I thought it sufficient to have prevented those cruelties in the Jerseys

Q

(avowed) which I have had occasion to mention more than once. But if war was the choice, I never expected this suspension should operate further than induce them to carry it on as is practised by men of liberal minds. I am clearly of opinion with your Excellency, that mutual agreement is necessary for a suspension of hostilities; and that without this mutual agreement, either party is free to act as each may judge expedient; yet I must at the same time frankly declare to you, that being no longer able to discern the object we contend for, I disapprove of all hostilities, both by land and sea, as they only tend to multiply the miseries of individuals, when the public can reap no advantage by success.

As to the savages, I have the best assurances, that from a certain period not very long after my arrival here, no parties of Indians were sent out, and that messengers were dispatched to recal those who had gone forth before that time; and I have particular assurances of disapprobation of all that happened

to the party on the side of Sandusky, except so far as was necessary for self-defence."

Philadelphia, April 2, 1783.

The Proceedings of the Federal Army near New Windsor, to obtain the Redress of their Grievances.

S**OMETIME** in December last, the army came to a serious determination to address Congress upon the subject of their grievances, which had been almost intolerable. A memorial was drawn up and agreed to, by a committee of the army, in which their wishes are thus stated.

" 1. Present pay.

" 2. A settlement of account of the arrearages of pay, and security for what is due.

" 3. A commutation of the half-pay allowed by different Resolutions of Congress for an equivalent in gross.

Q

" 4. A settlement of the account of deficiencies of rations and compensations.

" 5. A settlement of the accounts of deficiencies of cloathing and compensation."

Major-General M'Dougal, and two Field-Officers, were appointed to lay this Memorial before Congress, and make report to the army of their proceedings as soon as possible. After nearly two months attendance, a letter was received from the Commissioners, informing the army that " nothing of moment had yet been decided for them."

Upon this came forth the summons (No. 1.) accompanied by the first address (No. 2.) After this sketch the papers which follow will explain themselves.

(No. 1.)

A meeting of the General and Field-Officers is requested on Tuesday next, at ten o'clock, at the Public Building. A commissioned officer from each company, and proper representation from the Staff is ex-

pected. It is the object of this convention, to consider the late letters from our Commissioners now in Philadelphia, and what farther measures (if any) should be adopted to obtain redress which they seem to have solicited in vain.

(No. 2.)

TO THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMY.

GENTLEMEN,

A FELLOW soldier, whose interest and affections bind him strongly to you, whose past sufferings has been as great, and whose future fortunes may be as desperate as yours—would beg leave to address you.

Age has its claims, and rank is not without its pretensions to advise, but though unsupported by both, he flatters himself, that the plain language of sincerity and experience, will neither be unheard nor unregarded.

Like many of you, he loved private life, and left it with regret. He left it, determined to retire from the field, with the ne-

cessity that called him to it, and not till then—
 not till the enemies of his country, the slaves
 of power, and the hirelings of injustice,
 were compelled to abandon their schemes,
 and acknowledge America as terrible in
 arms as she had been humble in remonstrance.
 With this object in view, he has long shared
 in your toils, and mingled in your dangers.
 He has felt the cold hand of poverty without
 a murmur, and has seen the growing insolence
 of wealth without a sigh.—But, too much
 under the direction of his wishes, and some-
 times weak enough to make desire for opinion,
 he has till lately—very lately believed in the
 justice of his country. He hoped that as the
 clouds of adversity scattered, and as the sun-
 shine of peace and better fortune broke in
 upon us, the coldness and severity of govern-
 ment would relax, and that, more than justice,
 that gratitude would blaze forth upon those
 hands, which had upheld her in the darkest
 stages of her passage, from impending servi-
 tude to acknowledged independence. But
 faith has its limits as well as temper, and
 there are points beyond which, neither can

be stretched, without sinking into cowardice, or plunging into credulity. This, my friends, I conceive to be your situation. Hurried to the very verge of both, another step would ruin you forever. To be tame and unprovoked when injuries press hard upon you, is more than weakness; but to look up for kinder usage, without one manly effort of your own, would fix your character, and shew the world how richly you deserve those chains you broke. To guard against this evil, let us take a view of the ground upon which we now stand, and thence carry our thoughts forward for a moment, into the unexplored field of expedient.

After a pursuit of seven years, the object for which you set out is at length brought within your reach. Yes, my friends, that suffering courage of yours, was active once; it has conducted the United States of America through a doubtful and bloody war. It has placed her in the chair of independency, and peace returns again to bless—whom? A country courting your return to private

life, with tears of gratitude, and smiles of admiration. Longing to divide with you that independency which your gallantry has given, and those riches which your wounds have preserved? Is this the case? Or is it rather, a country that tramples upon your rights, disdains your cries, and insults your distresses? Have you not, more than once, suggested your wishes, and made known your wants to Congress? Wants and wishes which gratitude and policy should have anticipated, rather than evaded. And have you not lately, in the meek language of entreating memorials, begged from their justice, what you could no longer expect from their favour? How have you been answered? Let the letter which you are called to consider to-morrow make the reply.

If this then be your treatment, while the swords you wear are necessary for the defence of America, what have you to expect from peace when your voice shall sink, and your strength dissipate by division? When those very swords, the instruments and compa-

nions of your glory, shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinctions be left, but your marks, infirmities and scars? Can you then consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution, and retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vileness of dependency, and owe the miserable remains of life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honour!—If you can—go—and carry with you the jest of tories, and the scorn of whigs; the ridicule, and what is worse, the pity of the world. Go, starve, and be forgotten! But if your spirit should revolt at this; if you have sense enough to discover, and spirit sufficient to oppose tyranny, whatever garb it may assume; whether it be the plain coat of republicanism, or the splendid robe of royalty; if you have yet learned to discriminate between a people and a cause; between men and principles—awake—attend to your situation, and redress yourselves. If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain;

and your threats then will be as empty as your entreaties now.

I would advise you therefore, to come to some final opinion, upon what you can hear, and what you will suffer. If your determination be in any proportion to your wrongs, carry your appeal from the justice to the fears of government. Change the milk and water style of your memorials; assume a bolder tone; decent, but lively, spirited, and determined; and suspect the man who would advise to more moderation, or longer forbearance. Let two or three men who can feel as well as write, be appointed to draw up your late remonstrance; for I would no longer give it the soothing, soft, unsuccessful epithet of memorial.—Let it represent in language that will neither dishonour you by its rudeness, nor betray you by its fears, what has been promised by Congress, and what has been performed; how long and how patiently you have suffered—how little you have asked; and how much of that little has been denied. Tell them that, though

you were the first, and would wish to be the last to encounter danger; that though despair itself can never drive you into dishonour, it may drive you from the field; that the wound often irritated, and never healed, may at length become incurable—and that the slightest mark of indignity from Congress now, must operate like the grave, and part you forever—that in any political event, the army has its alternative. If peace, that nothing shall separate you from your arms but death. If war, that courting the auspices, and inviting the direction of your illustrious leader, you will retire to some yet unsettled country, smile in your turn, and “mock when their fear cometh on.” But let it represent also, that should they comply with the request of your late memorials, it would make you more happy, and them more respectable.—That while the war should continue, you would follow their standard to the field; and that when it came to an end, you would withdraw into the shade of private life, and give the world another subject of wonder and ap-

plause; an army victorious over its enemies—
victorious over itself.

(No. 3.)

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head Quarters, March 11, 1783.

THE Commander in Chief having heard that a general meeting of the officers of the army was proposed to be held this day at the New Building, on an anonymous paper, which was circulated yesterday by some unknown person, conceives, although he is fully persuaded that the good sense of the officers would induce them to pay very little attention to such an irregular invitation, his duty as well as the reputation and true interest of the army, require his disapprobation of such disorderly proceedings. At the same time, he requests the General and Field Officers, with one officer from each company, and a proper representation of the staff of the army, will assemble at 12 o'clock, on Saturday next, at the New Building, to hear the report of the committee from the army to Congress—After mature deliberation, they

will devise what farther measures ought to be adopted as most rational and best calculated to attain the just and important object in view. The senior officer in rank present will be pleased to preside, and report the result of their deliberations to the Commander in Chief.

(No. 4.)

Address to the Officers of the army, dated the 12th of March, 1783.

GENTLEMEN,

THE author of a late address, anxious to deserve, though he should fail to engage, your esteem; and determined at every risk, to unfold your duty and discharge his own, would beg the farther indulgence of a few moments attention. Aware of the coyness with which his last letter would be received, he felt himself neither disappointed nor deceived with the caution it has met. He well knew that it spoke a language which, till now, had been heard but in whispers, and that it contained some sentiments which confidence itself would have breathed with dif-

trust. But their lives have been short, and their observation imperfect indeed, who have yet to learn, that alarms have been false; that the best designs have often been obliged to assume the worst aspect; and that, synonymous as surprize and disaster may be in military phrase, they convey in moral and political meaning, ideas as different as they are distinct.

Suspicion, detestable as it is in private life, is the loveliest trait of political character. It prompts you to enquiry, bars the door against design, and opens every avenue to truth. It was the first to oppose a tyrant here, and still stands centinel over the liberties of America. With this belief it would ill become me, to stifle the voice of this guardian; a guardian, who authorised by circumstance digested into proofs, has herself given birth to the address you have read, and now goes forth amongst you with a request to all, that it may treat you fairly; that it may be considered before it be abused, and condemned before it be tortured; con-

vinced that, in a search after error, truth will appear, that apathy itself will grow warm in the pursuit, and though it may be the last to adopt her advice, it will be the first to act upon it.

The general order of yesterday, which the weak may mistake for disapprobation, and the designing dare to represent as such, wears, in my opinion, a very different complexion, and carries in it a very dangerous tendency. Till now, the Commander in Chief has regarded the steps you have taken for redress with good wishes alone. His official silence has authorised your meetings, and his private opinions sanctified your claims. Had he disliked the object in view, would not the same sense of duty which forbade you from meeting on the third and seventh? Is not the same subject held up for your discussion? and has it not passed the seal of office, and taken all the solemnity of an order? This will give system to your proceedings, and stability to your resolves. It will ripen speculation into fact: and while it adds to the unanimi-

ty, it cannot lessen the independency of your sentiments. It may be necessary to add upon this subject, that, from the injunction with which the general orders close, every man is at liberty to conclude, that the report to be made to Head-Quarters is intended for Congress. Hence will arise another motive for that energy which has been recommended: For, can you give the lie to the pathetic descriptions of your representatives, or the more alarming predictions of your friends? To such as make a want of signature an objection to opinions, I reply, that it matters very little who is the author of sentiments which grow out of feelings, and apply to your wants; that in this instance, diffidence suggested what experience enjoins; and that while I move on the high road of argument and advice, which is open to all, I shall remain the sole confident of my own secret. But, should the time come, when it shall be necessary to depart from the general line, and hold up any individual amongst you as an object of the resentment or contempt

of the rest, I thus publicly pledge my honour as a soldier, and my veracity as a man, that I then will assume a visible existence, and give my name to the army, with as little reserve as I now give my opinions.

(No. 5.)

Cantonment, 15th March, 1783.

AGREEABLE to the general order of the 11th inst. the Officers of the American army being convened, his Excellency the Commander in Chief, was pleased to open meeting with the following address to them on the subject of their being called together; which with some other papers was left for the consideration of the Assembly, the Hon. Major General Gates being President, as the Senior officer present.

GENTLEMEN,

BY an anonymous summons, an attempt has been made to convene you together. How inconsistent with the rules of propriety, and how subversive of all order and discipline, let the good sense of the army judge!

R

In the moment of this summons, another anonymous production was put into circulation, addressed more to the feelings and passions than to the reason and judgment of the army. The author of the piece is entitled to much credit for the goodness of his pen; and I could wish he had as much credit for the rectitude of his heart; for, as men see through difficulties, and are induced by the reflecting faculties of the mind, to use different means to attain the same end, the author of the piece should have had more charity than to mark for suspicion, the man who should recommend moderation and longer forbearance, or in other words, who should not think as he thinks, and act as he advises. But he had another plan in view, in which candour and liberality of sentiment, regard to justice and love of country have no part; and he was right to insinuate the darkest suspicions to effect the blackest designs. That the address is drawn with great art; that it is intended to answer the most insidious purposes; that it is intended to impress the

mind with an idea of premeditated injustice to the sovereign power of the United States, and rouse all those resentments which must unavoidably flow from such a belief; that the first mover of this scheme, whoever he may be, intended to take advantage of the passions, while they were warmed with the recollection of past distresses, without giving time for cool, deliberate thinking, and that composure of mind which is necessary to give dignity and stability to measures, is rendered too obvious, by the mode of conducting the business, to need other proof than a reference to the proceeding.

Thus much, Gentlemen, I have thought it incumbent on me to observe to you, to shew upon what principles I opposed the hasty, irregular meeting which was proposed to be held on Tuesday last, and not because I wanted a disposition to give you every opportunity, consistent with your own honour, and the dignity of the army to make known your grievances. If my conduct heretofore, has not evinced to you, that I have been a

faithful friend to the army, my declaration of it at this time would be equally unavailing and improper. But as I was among the first who embarked in the cause of our common country, as I have never left your side one moment, but when called from you on public duty; as I have been the constant companion and witness of your distresses, and not among the last to feel and acknowledge your merits; as I have ever considered my own military reputation as inseparably connected with that of the army; and my heart has ever expanded with joy, when I heard its praises, and my indignation has risen, when the mouth of detraction has been opened against it, it can scarcely be supposed at this last stage of the war, that I am indifferent to its interests. But how are they to be promoted? The way is plain, says the anonymous addresser. "If war continues, remove into the unsettled country, there establish yourselves, and leave an ungrateful country to defend itself." But whom are they to defend? Our wives, our children, and our farms, and other property

which we have left behind us? Or in this state of hostile separation, are we to take the two first (the latter cannot be removed) to perish in a wilderness with hunger, cold, and nakedness? If peace takes place, "never sheath your swords" says he, "until you have obtained full and ample justice." This dreadful alternative of either deserting our country in the extremest hour of her distress, or turning our arms against it, which is the apparent object, unless Congress can be compelled into instant compliance, has something so shocking in it, that humanity revolts at the idea. My God, what can this writer have in view, by recommending such measures? Can he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to the country? Rather is he not an insidious foe? Some emissary, perhaps, from New-York, plotting the ruin of both, by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent? And what a compliment does he pay to our understandings, when he recommends measures, in either alternative, im-

practicable in their nature? But, here Gentlemen, I will drop the curtain, because it would be as imprudent in me to assign my reasons for this opinion, as it would be insulting to your conception, to suppose you stood in need of them. A moment's reflection will convince every dispassionate mind of the physical impossibility of carrying either project into execution. There might, Gentlemen, be an impropriety in my taking notice, in this address to you, of an anonymous production; but the manner in which this performance has been introduced to the army, the effect it was intended to have, together with some other circumstances, will amply justify my observations upon the tendency of that writing.

With respect to the advice given by the author, to suspect the man who shall recommend moderation and longer forbearance, I spurn it, as every man regards that liberty and reveres the justice for which we contend, undoubtedly must; for, if men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a

matter which may involve the consideration of mankind, reason is of no use to us. The freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent we may be led, like sheep to the slaughter. I cannot in justice to my own belief, and which I have great reason to believe is the intention of Congress, conclude this address, without giving it as my decided opinion, that that honourable body entertain exalted sentiments of the services of the army, and from full conviction of its merits and sufferings, will do it complete justice: That their endeavours to discover and establish funds, have been unwearied, and will not cease till they have succeeded, I have not a doubt.

But like all other large bodies, where there is a variety of different interests to reconcile, their deliberations are slow. Why then should we distrust them? And in consequence of that distrust, adopt measures which would cast a shade over that glory which has been so justly acquired, and tarnish the reputation of an army which has been celebrated through

all Europe for its fortitude and patriotism? And for what is this done? To bring the object we seek for nearer? No, most certainly, in my opinion, it will cast it at a greater distance. For myself, and I take no merit in giving the assurance, being induced to it from principles of gratitude, veracity, and justice, a grateful sense of the confidence you have ever placed in me, a recollection of the cheerful assistance and prompt obedience I have experienced from you, under every vicissitude of fortune, and the sincere affection I feel for an army I had so long the honour to command, will oblige me to declare in this public and solemn manner, that in the attainment of complete justice for all your toils and dangers, and in the gratification of every wish, so far as may be done consistently with the great duty I owe my country, and those powers I am bound to respect, you may freely command my services to the utmost of my abilities.

While I give you these assurances, and pledge myself in the most unequivocal manner to

exert whatever ability I am possessed of in your favour, let me entreat you gentlemen, on your part, not to take any measures, which, viewed in the calm light of reason, will lessen the dignity and fully the glory you have hitherto maintained.—Let me request you to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of Congress, that previous to your dissolution, as an army, they will cause all your accounts to be fairly liquidated, as directed in the Resolutions which were published to you two days ago, and that they will adopt the most effectual measures in their power to render ample justice to you, for your faithful and meritorious services. And let me conjure you in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honour, as you respect the sacred rights of humanity, and as you regard the military and national character of America, to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man, who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of our coun-

try, and who wickedly attempts to open the flood-gates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire with blood.

By thus determining, and thus acting, you will pursue the plain and direct road to the attainment of your wishes; you will defeat the insidious designs of your enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice. You will give one more proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue, rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings; and you will by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind, "had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining."

(Copy)

GEO. WASHINGTON.

Head-Quarters, Newburgh,

March 15, 1783.

His Excellency having withdrawn, on a motion made by General Knox, and seconded by Brigadier-General Putnam.

Resolved, That the unanimous thanks of the officers of the army, be presented to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, for the excellent address, and the communication he has been pleased to make to them; and to assure him that the officers reciprocate his affectionate expressions, with the greatest sincerity of which the human heart is capable.

The Address of the army to Congress—the Report of the Committee from the army, and the Resolutions of Congress of the 25th of January, being read,

On motion by General Putnam, seconded by General Hand,

Voted, That a Committee be appointed to draw up immediately some resolutions expressive of the business before us, and to report in half an hour; that this Committee consist of one General, one Field-Officer, and one

Captain—that General Knox, Col. Brooks, and Captain Howard, compose the said Committee.

The report of the Committee having been brought in, and fully considered,

Resolved unanimously, That at the commencement of the present war, the officers of the American army engaged in the service of their country from the purest love and attachment to the rights and liberties of human nature, which motives still exist in the highest degree; and that no circumstances of distress or danger, shall induce a conduct that may tend to sully the reputation and glory which they have acquired, at the price of their blood and eight years faithful service.

Resolved unanimously, That the army continue to have an unshaken confidence in the virtue of Congress and their country, and are fully convinced that the representatives of America will not disband or disperse the army, until their accounts are liquidated,

the balances accurately ascertained, and adequate funds established for payment. And in this arrangement the officers expect that the half-pay, or a commutation of it, should be efficaciously comprehended.

Resolved unanimously, That his Excellency the Commander in Chief be requested to write to his Excellency the President of Congress, earnestly entreating the most speedy decision of that honourable body, upon the subjects of our late address, which was forwarded by a committee of the army, some of whom are waiting upon Congress for the result. In the alternative of peace or war, the event would be highly satisfactory, and would produce immediate tranquillity in the minds of the army, and prevent any further machinations of designing men, to sow discord between the civil and military power of the United States.

Resolved unanimously, That the Officers of the American army view with abhorrence and reject with disdain the infamous propositions

contained in a late anonymous address to the Officers of the army, and resent with indignation the secret attempts of some unknown person to collect the Officers together, in a manner totally subversive of all discipline and good order.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of the Officers of the army be given to the committee who presented to Congress the late address of the army, for the wisdom and prudence with which they have conducted that business; that a copy of the proceedings of this day be transmitted by the President to Major General M'Dougal, and that he be requested to continue his solicitations at Congress, until the objects of his mission are accomplished.

The meeting was then dissolved.

HORATIO GATES, Maj. Gen.

President.

CHATHAM, April 23.

The following orders were issued by General Washington, dated

Head-Quarters, April 18, 1783.

THE Commander in Chief orders the cessation of hostilities between the United States of America and the King of Great-Britain, to be publicly proclaimed to-morrow at twelve o'clock, at the new building: and that the proclamation which will be communicated herewith be read to-morrow evening at the head of every regiment and corps of the army; after which the chaplains, with the several brigades, will render thanks to Almighty God for all his mercies, particularly for his over-ruling the wrath of man to his own glory, and causing the rage of war to cease among the nations.

Although the proclamation before alluded to extends only to the prohibition of hostilities, and not to the annunciation of a general peace, yet, it must afford the most rational and

sincere satisfaction to every benevolent mind, as it puts a period to a long and doubtful contest, stops the effusion of human blood, opens the prospect to a more splendid scene, and, like another morning star, promises the approach of brighter day than hath hitherto illuminated the Western hemisphere. On such a happy day, which is the harbinger of peace, a day which completes the eighth year of the war, it would be ingratitude not to rejoice; it would be insensibility not to participate in the general felicity.

The Commander in Chief, far from endeavouring to stifle the feelings of joy in his own bosom, offers his most cordial congratulations on the occasion to all the officers of every denomination; to all the troops of the United States in general; and in particular to those gallant and persevering men who had resolved to defend the rights of their invaded country, so long as the war should continue. — For these are the men who ought to be considered as the pride and boast of the American army; and who, crowned with well

earned laurels, may soon withdraw from the field of glory to the more tranquil walks of civil life. While the Commander in Chief recollects the almost infinite variety of scenes through which we have past, with a mixture of pleasure, astonishment, and gratitude; while he contemplates the prospects before us with rapture, he cannot help wishing that all the brave men, of whatever condition they may be, who have shared the toils and dangers of effecting this glorious revolution; of rescuing millions from the hand of oppression, and of laying the foundation of a great empire, might be impressed with a proper idea of the dignified part they have been called to act, under the smiles of Providence, on the stage of human affairs; for happy, thrice happy! shall they be pronounced hereafter who have contributed any thing; who have performed the meanest office in erecting this stupendous **FABRICK OF FREEDOM AND EMPIRE** on the broad basis of independency; who have assisted in protecting the rights of human nature, and established an

asylum for the poor and oppressed of all na-
 tions and religions.---The glorious task for
 which we first flew to arms being accomplished
 ---the liberties of our country being fully ac-
 knowledged and firmly secured by the smiles
 of Heaven on the purity of our cause; and
 the honest exertions of a feeble people, de-
 termined to be free, against a powerful na-
 tion, disposed to oppress them; and the cha-
 racter of those who have preserved through
 every extremity of hardship, suffering, and
 danger, being immortalized by the illustrious
 appellation of the PATRIOT ARMY; nothing
 now remains but for the actors of this mighty
 scene to preserve a perfect unvarying consist-
 ency of character through the very last act,
 to close the drama with applause; and to re-
 tire from the military theatre with the same
 approbation of angels and men which have
 crowned all their former virtuous actions.
 For this purpose no disorder or licentiousness
 must be tolerated.---Every confederate and
 well disposed soldier must remember it will
 be absolutely necessary to wait with patience

until peace shall be declared, or Congress shall be enabled to take proper measures for the security of the public stores, &c. As soon as these arrangements shall be made, the General is confident, there will be no delay in discharging, with every mark of distinction and honour, all the men enlisted for the war, who will then have faithfully performed their engagements with the public. The General has already interested himself in their behalf, and he thinks he need not repeat the assurance of his disposition to be useful to them on the present, and every other proper occasion. In the mean time he is determined that no military neglects or excesses shall go unpunished while he retains the command of the army.

The Adjutant-General will have such working parties detached, to assist in making the preparations for a general rejoicing, as the chief Engineer with the army shall call for; and the Quarter-Master-General will, without delay, procure such a number of discharges to be printed as will be sufficient for all the

men enlisted for the war--he will please to apply to Head-Quarters for the form.---An extra ration of liquor to be issued to every man to-morrow to drink, "Perpetual Peace and Happiness to the United States of America."

UNITED STATES,
IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

Princeton, August 26, 1783.

According to order, General Washington attended, and being introduced by two members, the President addressed him as follows:

SIR,

CONGRESS feel particular pleasure in seeing your Excellency, and in congratulating you on the success of a war in which you have acted so conspicuous a part;

It has been the singular happiness of the United States, that during a war so long, so dangerous and so important. Providence has been graciously pleased to preserve the

life of a General, who has merited and possessed the uninterrupted confidence and affection of his fellow-citizens. In other nations many have performed services for which they have deserved and received the thanks of the public; but to you, Sir, peculiar praise is due, your services have been essential in acquiring and establishing the Freedom and Independence of your country; they deserve the grateful acknowledgements of a free and independent nation: those acknowledgements Congress have the satisfaction of expressing to your Excellency.

Hostilities have now ceased, but your country still needs your services; she wishes to avail herself of your talents in forming the arrangements which will be necessary for her in the time of peace; for this reason your attendance at Congress has been requested. A Committee is appointed to confer with your Excellency and to receive your assistance in preparing and adjusting plans relative to those important objects.

§ 3

To which his EXCELLENCY made the following

REPLY.

MR. PRESIDENT,

I AM too sensible of the honourable reception I have now experienced, not to be penetrated with the deepest feelings of gratitude.

Notwithstanding Congress appear to estimate the value of my life beyond any services I have been able to render the United States, yet I must be permitted to consider the wisdom and unanimity of our national councils, the firmness of our citizens, and the patience and bravery of our troops, which have produced so happy a termination of the war, as the most conspicuous effect of the Divine interposition and the surest presage of our future happiness.

Highly gratified by the favourable sentiments which Congress are pleased to express of my past conduct, and amply rewarded by the confidence and affection of my fellow-citizens, I cannot hesitate to contribute my best endeavours towards the establishment of the

national security in whatever manner the sovereign power may think proper to direct, until the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace, or the final evacuation of our country by the British forces; after either of which events, I shall ask permission to retire to the peaceful shade of private life.

Perhaps, Sir, no occasion may offer more suitable than the present to express my humble thanks to God, and my grateful acknowledgments to my country, for the great and uniform support I have received in every vicissitude of fortune, and for the many distinguished honours which Congress have been pleased to confer upon me in the course of the war.

Published by order of Congress,

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.

Highly gratified by the favourable reception which these papers are pleased to expect, and my best thanks and affection of my fellow-citizens. I cannot hesitate to contribute my best endeavours towards the establishment of the

BY THE UNITED STATES,
IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

August 7, 1783.

Resolved unanimously, Ten States being present:

THAT an Equestrian Statue of General Washington be erected at the place where the residence of Congress shall be established:

Resolved, That the statue be of bronze, the General to be represented in a Roman dress, holding a trunchcon in his right hand, and his head incircled with a laurel wreath: the statue to be supported by a marble pedestal, on which are to be represented, in basso relievo, the following principal events of the war, in which General Washington commanded in person, viz. The Evacuation of Boston--The Capture of the Hessians at Trenton--The Battle of Princeton--The action of Monmouth--and the surrender of York. On the upper part of the front of the pedestal to be engraved as follows: "The United States in

Congress assembled, ordered this statue to be erected in the year of our Lord, 1783, in honour of George Washington, the illustrious commander in chief of the armies of the United States of America, during the war, which vindicated and secured their liberty, sovereignty, and independence."

Resolved, That a statue conformable to the above plan, be executed by the best artist in Europe, under the superintendance of the Minister of the United States at the Court of Versailles, and that money to defray the expence of the same, be furnished from the Treasury of the United States.

Resolved, That the Secretary of Congress transmit to the Minister of the United States at the Court of Versailles, the best resemblance of General Washington that can be procured for the purpose of having the above statue erected, together with the fittest description of the events which are to be the subject of the basso relievo.

BOSTON, August 16.

The General Court, in their late Session, ordered a congratulatory ADDRESS to be transmitted to his Excellency General WASHINGTON, of which the following is a true copy.

SIR,

THE Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled, take this opportunity of congratulating you on the happy return of peace.

Your Excellency, we are assured, will join us in the warmest expressions of gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, under whose influence and direction the struggles of a virtuous and free people have terminated in a revolution which excites the admiration of the world!

Guided by the All-wise Providence your country early fixed her eyes upon you, and confiding in those eminent qualities which

you possessed, appointed you to the command of her armies.

The wisdom of your conduct in the discharge of that important trust, has given a compleat sanction to the appointment, and crowned the most heightened expectation. In every stage of the arduous conflict, what trying scenes have you passed through! What hardships have you not endured! What dangers have you not encountered! May you long live, beloved by a grateful country, and partaking largely in the enjoyment of those inestimable blessings which you have been so eminently instrumental in securing for us! While patriots shall not cease to applaud that sacred attachment which you have constantly manifested to the rights of citizens; too often violated by men in arms, your military virtues and achievements will be deeply recorded in the breasts of your countrymen, and make the brightest pages in the history of mankind.

PHILADELPHIA, November 6.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S

FAREWELL ORDERS,

TO THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,

Rockey-Hill, near Princeton, Nov. 2, 1783.

THE United States in Congress assembled, after giving the most honourable testimony to the merits of the federal armies, and presenting them with the thanks of their country, for their long, eminent and faithful services, having thought proper, by their proclamation bearing date the 18th of October last, to discharge such part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers on furlough to retire from service, from and after to-morrow; which proclamation having been communicated in the public papers, for the information and government of all concerned, it only remains for the Commander in Chief to address himself once more, and that for the last time, to the Armies of the United States (however widely dispersed the individuals who compose them may be), and to bid them an affectionate---a long farewell,

But before the Commander in Chief takes his final leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight review of the past—he will then take the liberty of exploring with his military friends their future prospects, of advising the general line of conduct, which in his opinion ought to be pursued; and he will conclude the address by expressing the obligations he feels himself under, for the spirited and able assistance he has experienced from them, in the performance of an arduous office.

A contemplation of the complete attainment (at a period earlier than could have been expected) of the object for which we contended, against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances on our part under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The signal interpositions of Providence, in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving;

while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

It is not the meaning, nor within the compass of this address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service, or to describe the distresses which in several instances have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigours of an inclement season: Nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of our past affairs.

Every American Officer and Soldier must now console himself for any unpleasant circumstance which may have occurred, by a recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act, no inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness.

Events, which have seldom, if ever, before, taken place on the stage of human action,

nor can they probably ever happen again.—
 For who has before seen a disciplined army
 formed at once from such raw materials?
 Who, that was not a witness, could imagine,
 that the most violent local prejudices would
 cease so soon, and that men who came from
 the different parts of the continent, strongly
 disposed by habits of education to despise and
 quarrel with each other, would instantly be-
 come but one patriotic band of brothers? Or
 who that was not on the spot can trace the
 steps by which such a wonderful revolution
 has been effected, and such a glorious period
 put to all our warlike toils?

It is universally acknowledged, that the en-
 larged prospect of happiness opened by the
 confirmation of our independence and sove-
 reignty, almost exceeds the power of descrip-
 tion. And shall not the brave men who
 have contributed so essentially to these ines-
 timable acquisitions, retiring victorious from
 the field of war, to the field of agriculture,
 participate in all the blessings which have
 been obtained? In such a Republic who will

exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labours? In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce, and the cultivation of the soil, will unfold to industry the certain road to competence.—To those hardy Soldiers who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment; and the extensive and fertile regions of the West, will yield a most happy asylum to those, who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking for personal Independence.—Nor is it possible to conceive that any one of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy and a dissolution of the Union, to a compliance with the requisitions of Congress, and the payment of its just debts. So that the Officers and Soldiers may expect considerable assistance in recommencing their civil occupations from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

In order to effect this desirable purpose, and remove the prejudices which may have taken

possession of the minds of any of the good people of the States, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that with strong attachment to the union; they should carry with them into civil society, the most conciliating dispositions, and that they should prove themselves not less virtuous and useful as citizens, than they have been victorious as soldiers. What though there should be some envious individuals, who are unwilling to pay the debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to merit, yet let such unworthy treatment produce no invective, or any instance of intemperate conduct. Let it be remembered, that the unbiassed voice of the free citizens of the United States, has promised the just reward, and given the merited applause. Let it be known and remembered, that the reputation of the federal armies is established beyond the reach of malevolence. And let a consciousness of their achievements and fame still excite the men who composed them to honourable actions, under the persuasion that the

T

private virtues of oeconomy, prudence and industry, will not be less amiable in civil life, than the more splendid qualities of valour, perseverance and enterprize were in the field. Every one may rest assured that much, very much of the future happiness of the officers and men will depend upon the wise and manly conduct which shall be adopted by them, when they are mingled with the great body of the community. And although the General has so frequently given it as his opinion, in the most public and explicit manner, that unless the principles of the federal government was properly supported, and the powers of the union increased, the honour, dignity, and justice of the nation would be lost for ever: yet he cannot help repeating on this occasion so interesting a sentiment, and leaving it as his last injunction to every officer and every soldier who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best endeavours to those of his worthy fellow-citizens, towards effecting these great

and valuable purposes, on which our very existence as a nation so materially depends.

The Commander in Chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the soldier to change the military character into that of the citizen; but that steady, decent tenor of behaviour, which has generally distinguished not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and armies through the course of the war. From their good sense and prudence he anticipates the happiest consequences; and while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strongest obligations he feels himself under for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance. He presents his thanks in the most serious and affectionate manner, to the General Officers, as well for their councils on many interesting occasions, as for their ardour in promoting the success of the plans he had adopted. To the Commandants of regiments

and corps, and to the other officers for their zeal and attention in carrying his orders promptly into execution—To the staff for their alacrity and exactness in performing the duties of their several departments. And to the Non-commissioned Officers and private Soldiers for their extraordinary patience and suffering, as well as their invincible fortitude in action. To the various branches of the army, the General takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship. He wishes more than bare professions were in his power; that he was really able to be useful to them all in future life. He flatters himself, however, they will do him the justice to believe, that whatever could, with propriety, be attempted by him, has been done.

And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave in a short time of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command. He can only

again offer in their behalf his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of Armies,

May ample justice be done them here; and may the choicest of Heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend those, who under the Divine Auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others. With these wishes, and this benediction, the Commander in Chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn; and the military scene to him will be closed for ever.

EDWARD HAND,

Adjutant-General.

We are favoured with the following ORDER,

issued at West-Point the 16th inst.

GARRISON ORDERS.

November 16, 1783.

THE Definitive Treaty being concluded, and the city of New-York to be eva-

uated on the 22d inst. His Excellency the
 Commander in Chief proposes to celebrate
 the Peace at that place, on Monday the first
 day of December next, by a display of Fire-
 Works and Illuminations, which were intend-
 ed to have been exhibited at this post, or such
 of them as have not been injured by time, and
 can be removed.

*We have been favoured with authentic copies of the
 following Letter and Address, which were pre-
 sented to his Excellency General Washington on
 the 15th inst.*

West-Point, 15th Nov. 1783.

SIR,

THE officers of the part of the army who
 agreed on the inclosed address, having
 committed to us the honour of presenting it
 —with great pleasure we now offer to your

Excellency this testimony of their affection,
ate attachment and respect.

We have the honour to be,

With perfect consideration,

SIR,

Your Excellency's

most obedient,

and most humble Servants,

A. M'DOUGALL, Major-General.

H. KNOX, Major-General.

T. PICKERING, Jr. Mr. General.

His Excellency

General WASHINGTON,

The ADDRESS is as follows:

To his Excellency General WASHINGTON,
Commander in Chief of the Armies of
the United States of America.

WE, the officers of the part of the Army
remaining on the banks of the
Hudson, have received your Excellency's
serious and farewell address, to the armies
of the United States. We beg you to accept

our unfeigned thanks for the communication, and your affectionate assurances of inviolable attachment and friendship. If your attempts to ensure to the armies the just, the promised rewards, of their long, severe and dangerous services, have failed of success, we believe it has arisen from causes not in your Excellency's power to controul. With extreme regret do we reflect on the occasion which called for such endeavours. But while we thank your Excellency for these exertions in favour of the troops you have so successfully commanded, we pray it may be believed, that in this sentiment our own particular interests have but a secondary place; and that even the ultimate ingratitude of the people (were that possible) could not shake the patriotism of those who suffer by it. Still with pleasing wonder and with grateful joy shall we contemplate the glorious conclusion of our labours. To that merit in the revolution which, under the auspices of Heaven, the armies have displayed, posterity will do justice; and the sons will blush whose fathers

were their foes. Most gladly would we cast
 a veil on every act which sullies the reputa-
 tion of our country; never should the page
 of history be stained with its dishonour; even
 from our memories should the idea be erased.
 We lament the opposition to those salutary
 measures which the wisdom of the Union
 has planned; measures which alone can re-
 cover and fix on a permanent basis the credit
 of the states; measures which are essential to
 the justice, the honour and interest of the na-
 tion. While she was giving the noblest
 proofs of magnanimity, with conscious pride
 we saw her growing fame; and regardless of
 present sufferings, we looked forward to the
 end of our toils and dangers, to brighter
 scenes in prospect. There we beheld the
 Genius of our Country dignified by Sovereignty
 and Independence, supported by
 Justice, and adorned with every liberal vir-
 tue. There we saw patient Husbandry fearless
 extend her cultured fields, and animated
 Commerce spread her sails to every wind.
 There we beheld fair Science lift her head,

with all the arts attending in her train. There, blest with Freedom, we saw the human mind expand, and throwing aside the restraints which confined it to the narrow bounds of country, it embraced the world. Such were our fond hopes, and with such delightful prospects did they present us. Nor are we disappointed. Those animating professions are now changed and changing to realities; and actively to have contributed to their production is our pride, our glory. But Justice alone can give them stability. In that Justice we still believe. Still we hope that the prejudices of the misinformed will be removed, and the arts of false and selfish popularity, addressed to the feelings of avarice, defeated. Or in the worst event, the world, we hope, will make the just distinction: We trust the dissingenuousness of a few will not sully the reputation, the honour and dignity of the great and respectable majority of the States. We are happy in the opportunity just presented of congratulating your Excellency

on the certain conclusion of the *Definitive Treaty of Peace*. Relieved at length from long suspense, our warmest wish is to return to the bosom of our country, to resume the character of citizens; and it will be our highest ambition to become useful ones. To your Excellency this great event must be peculiarly pleasing. For while at the head of her armies, urged by patriot virtues and magnanimity, you persevered, under the pressure of every possible difficulty and discouragement, in the pursuit of the great objects of the war, the freedom and safety of your country; your heart panted for the tranquil enjoyments of peace. We cordially rejoice with you that the period of indulging them has arrived so soon. In contemplating the blessings of Liberty and Independence, the rich prize of eight years hardy adventure, past sufferings will be forgotten, or if remembered, the recollection will serve to heighten the relish of present happiness. We sincerely pray GOD this happiness may long be yours, and that when you quit the stage of

human life, you may receive from the UN-
ERRING JUDGE, the rewards of valour
 exerted to save the oppressed, of patriotism
 and disinterested virtue.

West-point, 15th November, 1783.

NEW BRUNSWICK, Nov. 18.

ON Friday the 7th instant, a committee
 from the Officers of the Militia of the
 County of Somerset, waited on his Excellency
 General WASHINGTON, and presented the
 following ADDRESS:

TO HIS EXCELLENCY
GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq;
 General and Commander in Chief of the
 Armies of the United States of America.

May it please your Excellency,

THE Officers of the Militia of the
 County of Somerset, beg leave to embrace
 the earliest opportunity after the first gene-
 ral muster, since your Excellency's arrival
 in this State, to approach your Excellency

with their most sincere congratulations on the glorious conclusion of the American contest for Liberty and Independence, and on the happy restoration of Peace to our late distressed country.

Whilst the Supreme Council of the United States are daily making new expressions of the unbounded esteem they possess for your Excellency's person, and whilst America, as one man, acknowledges the debt of gratitude, due to your important services, it may be thought vain in a few of the officers of the Jersey militia, to trouble your Excellency with their particular declarations of esteem and affection. But, Sir, when we consider the attention at all times paid us by your Excellency, when during the late conflict, we were called into the field, justice and gratitude call upon us to make public acknowledgments of the obligations we are under.

Permit us therefore to assure your Excellency, that we do and ever shall retain the liveliest sense of the paternal care exercised

towards us by your Excellency, whenever throughout the past important contest, we were honoured by serving under your command. And that your Excellency's conduct in this respect, has endeared you to every officer and soldier of the county of Somerset, so that time shall not be able to efface from their minds the feelings of love and esteem. No, Sir, whilst they revere your character, and regard you as the FATHER OF YOUR COUNTRY, they also gratefully remember, that whenever they were called out to the defence of American Freedom, they were honoured with your Excellency's kindest notice, and that when matters of greater importance might reasonably have been supposed to engross your whole attention, you still extended your generous concern to the smallest parties of militia, who were on duty within the reach of your benevolent care.

We sincerely wish, Sir, that when you have taken leave of public business, you may be blessed with a happy and prosperous journey

to your place of residence, and that you may
 there enjoy the continual feast of felicity,
 which must ever be the portion of those who
 retire from the noise and tumult of the world,
 with a consciousness of having discharged
 the duties of the most important stations
 with honour and integrity. In particular,
 we hope and trust that your Excellency's fu-
 ture happiness will not be interrupted by any
 ungrateful conduct of this emancipated coun-
 try towards those deserving men, by whose
 persevering valour and unparalleled sufferings,
 the present glorious revolution has, with the
 blessing of Providence, been happily effected;
 and we beg leave, for our parts, to assure
 your Excellency that we shall exert ourselves
 by our example, and to the utmost sphere of
 our influence, in procuring for those dis-
 tinguished patriots, ample compensation for
 their meritorious services.

May the indulgent Father of Mercies grant
 your Excellency a long and happy life, and
 when you have finished the work allotted you

on this stage of action, may you ascend to the enjoyment of more refined pleasures; leaving your memory indelibly engraven in the hearts of your grateful countrymen, and your example the brightest model for those of your posterity, who shall wish to distinguish themselves by a disinterested love of freedom, and an inviolable attachment to virtue.

We are, SIR,

In behalf of our respective Regiments,

With the most perfect esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient,

And very humble Servants,

FRED. FRELINGHUYSEN, Colonel

1st Bat. Somerset Militia.

HENRY VAN DIKE, Colonel 2d Bat.

PETER D. VROOM, Lt. Col. 2d Bat.

RICHARD M'DONALD, Maj. 1st Bat.

ABM. NIFIES, Major 2d Bat.

To which his Excellency was pleased to return
the following Answer:

To the Officers of the Militia of the county of
Somerset.

GENTLEMEN,

I THANK you for the polite attention you
pay me in your address, and for the af-
fectionate anxiety you express, for my happi-
ness.

With a heart deeply impressed by the
happy issue of a long and painful contest, I
most cordially participate with you in the
general joy, and earnestly join my wishes
to yours, for the future prosperity and happiness
of our country.

The repeated proofs of unabated valour
and perseverance which I have been witness
to in the officers and militia of the county of
Somerset, demand from me the acknowledg-
ments, which, for the last time, I have now
the honour of making you, and as your zeal

U

in the field, and in the service of your country, cannot fail to endear you to your fellow-citizens, it is with much pleasure, that, in taking my final leave of you, I can with the purest sincerity add this last testimony in your favour.

I now bid you, Gentlemen, a long farewell, in the fullest confidence, that men who have so bravely defended their country, will likewise in their peaceable retirements, contribute their best endeavours to confirm and perpetuate that happy union of the States and its citizens, which, under Providence, has so visibly been the means of our deliverance and Independence.

G. WASHINGTON.

Rocky-Hill, near Princeton, }

7th Nov. 1783.

NEW-YORK, Nov. 26, 1783.

YESTERDAY in the morning the American troops marched from Haellem, to the

Bowery Lane.—They remained there until about One o'Clock, when the British Troops left the Posts in the Bowery, and the American Troops marched into, and took Possession of the City, in the following Order, viz.

1. A Corps of Dragoons.
2. Advanced Guards of Light Infantry.
3. A Corps of Artillery.
4. Battalion of Light Infantry.
5. Battalion of Massachusetts Troops.
6. Rear Guard.

After the Troops had taken Possession of the City, the GENERAL and GOVERNOR made their Public Entry.

The arrangement and whole conduct of this march, with the tranquility which succeeded it, through the day and night, was admirable! and the grateful citizens will

ever feel the most affectionate impressions, from that elegant and efficient disposition which prevailed through the whole event.

To His Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esquire, General and Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of America:

The ADDRESS of the CITIZENS of New York who have returned from Exile, in Behalf of themselves and their suffering Brethren:

SIR,

AT a moment when the arm of tyranny is yielding up its fondest usurpations, we hope the salutations of long suffering exiles, but now happy freemen, will not be deemed an unworthy tribute.

In this place, and at this moment of exultation and triumph, while the ensigns of slavery still linger in our sight, we look up to you, our deliverer, with unusual transports of gratitude and joy. Permit us to welcome you to this city, long torn from us by the hard hand of oppression; but, now by your wisdom and energy, under the guidance of Providence, once more the seat of peace and freedom.—We forbear to speak our gratitude or your praise—we should but echo the voice of applauding millions; but the citizens of New-York are eminently indebted to your virtues, and we who have now the honour to address your Excellency, have been often companions of your sufferings, and witnesses of your exertions——permit us, therefore, to approach your Excellency with the dignity and sincerity of freemen, and to assure you, that we shall preserve with our latest breath, our gratitude for your services, and veneration for your character; and accept of our sincere and earnest wishes, that you may long enjoy that calm domestic felicity,

which you have so generously sacrificed; that the cries of injured liberty may never more interrupt your repose; and that your happiness may be equal to your virtues. Signed at the request of the Meeting.

THO. RANDOLL,

DAN. PHOENIX,

SAM. BROOME,

THO. TUCKER,

HENRY KIPP,

PAT. DENNIS,

WILL. GILBERT, *sn.*

WILL. GILBERT, *jun.*

FRANCIS VAN DYCK,

JEREMIAH WOOL,

GEO. JANEWAY,

ABM. P. LOTT,

EPHRAIM BRASHER.

New-York, November 22, 1783.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S ANSWER.

To the **CITIZENS of NEW-YORK**, who
have returned from exile.

GENTLEMEN,

I THANK you sincerely for your affectionate Address, and intreat you to be persuaded, that nothing could be more agreeable to me than your polite congratulations: Permit me, in turn, to felicitate you on the happy restoration of your City.

Great as your joy must be on this pleasing occasion, it can scarcely exceed that, which I feel at seeing you, Gentlemen, who, from the noblest motives, have suffered a voluntary exile of many years, return again in peace and triumph, to enjoy the fruits of your virtuous conduct.

The fortitude and perseverance which you and your suffering brethren have exhibited in the course of the war, have not only endeared you to your countrymen, but will be remem-

bered with admiration and applause, to the latest posterity.

May the tranquillity of your city be perpetual: May the ruins soon be repaired, Commerce flourish. Science be fostered, and all the civil and social virtues be cherished, in the same illustrious manner, which formerly reflected so much credit on the inhabitants of New-York. In fine, may every species of felicity attend you, Gentlemen, and your worthy fellow-citizens.

GEO. WASHINGTON,

New-York, Nov. 26, 1783.

To his Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq. General and Commander in Chief of the American Armies:

WE the Members of the Volunteer Associations and other Inhabitants of the Kingdom of Ireland, lately arrived in this city, unable to resist the temptation of doing ourselves so great an honour, beg leave to

present your Excellency with our unfeigned and warmest congratulations on the glorious termination of the late cruel, unnatural and oppressive war, in which you have so happily succeeded.

We view with admiration what the efforts of a brave, determined and virtuous people, under so great a Commander, is capable of producing.—The nations are become enlightened, and the universal liberty and security of the subject, through your means and exertions, is rendered permanent and respectable. We want words expressive of our gratitude for the great benefits our long oppressed country is indebted to you for, or our veneration, our affection, for so great a character.—We would have been happy could we have been soldiers under your command. We have taken the first opportunity to offer ourselves as Citizens, and pray a participation of those Blessings you have so dearly won, and effectually established.

We trust, great Sir, that fate has not injured our country in your Excellency's estimation, its natural hospitality was not withheld from such of our American Brethren as the chance of war sent amongst us.—We were happy in rendering them liberty, and every comfort and convenience, but in this we barely did our duty.

To be well in your Excellency's opinion is our utmost wish, being confident that to attain it, our conduct must be strictly consistent with honour and virtue.

May every ease and happiness be the attendants of your Excellency's own reflections of having acted right to that awful, but we hope very distant period, at which the world must say, **WE HAVE LOST OUR FRIEND.**

Signed on behalf, and at the request of the Meeting, at New-York, the 2d day of December, 1783.

JOSEPH HOLMES, Sec'y.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S ANSWER.

To the Members of the Volunteer Association,
and other Inhabitants of the Kingdom of
Ireland, who have lately arrived in the
City of New-York.

GENTLEMEN,

THE testimony of your satisfaction at
the glorious termination of the late
contest, and your indulgent opinion of my
agency in it, afford me singular pleasure, and
merit my warmest acknowledgments.

If the example of the Americans success-
fully contending in the cause of Freedom,
can be of any use to other nations, we shall
have an additional motive for rejoicing at so
prosperous an event.

It was not an uninteresting consideration,
to learn that the kingdom of Ireland, by a
bold and manly conduct, had obtained the re-

dress of many of its grievances; and it is much to be wished that the blessings of equal Liberty, and unrestrained Commerce, may yet prevail more extensively. In the mean time you may be assured, Gentlemen, that the Hospitality and Beneficence of your countrymen, to our brethren who have been prisoners of war, are neither unknown or unregarded.

The bosom of America is open to receive not only the opulent and respectable stranger, but the oppressed and persecuted of all nations and religions; whom we shall welcome to a participation of all our Rights and Privileges, if by decency and propriety of conduct they appear to merit the enjoyment.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

NEW-YORK, December 6, 1783.

LAST Thursday noon, the principal officers of the army in town, assembled at Fraunces's Tavern, to take a final leave of

their illustrious, gracious, and much loved Commander, GENERAL WASHINGTON. The passions of human nature were never more tenderly agitated, than in this interesting and distressful scene. His Excellency having filled a glass of wine, thus addressed his brave fellow-soldiers:

*"With an heart full of love and gratitude, I
 "now take leave of you: I most devoutly wish,
 "that your latter days may be as prosperous
 "and happy, as your former ones have been
 "glorious and honourable."*

These words produced extreme sensibility on both sides, they were answered by warm expressions, and fervent wishes, from the Gentlemen of the Army, whose truly pathetic feelings it is not in our power to convey to the reader. Soon after this scene was closed, his Excellency the Governor, the Honourable the Council, and Citizens of the first distinction waited on the General, and in terms most affectionate, took their leave.

The Corps of Light Infantry was drawn up in a line, the Commander in Chief, about two o'clock, passed through them, on his way to White-hall, where he embarked in his barge for Powles Hook: He is attended by General Le Baron de Steuben, proposes to make a short stay at Philadelphia, will thence proceed to Annapolis, where he will resign his Commission of General of the American Armies, into the hands of the Continental Congress, from whom it was derived; immediately after which, his Excellency will set out for his seat, named Mount-Vernon, in Virginia, emulating the example of his model, the virtuous Roman General, who, victorious, left the tented field, covered with honour, and withdrew from public life, *otium cum dignitate.*

New-York, December 4, 1783.

S I R,

I HAVE the the honour to transmit you the following copy of a letter from the Commander in Chief, to Major-General Knox, who

requests you to publish it to the troops under your command, in the orders of this day.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

J. SHAW, A. D. C.

Hon. Brig. Gen. H. Jackson.

New-York, December 3, 1783.

SIR,

THE splendid display of Fire-Works last evening, was so highly satisfactory, that I must request you to present to Captain PRICE, under whose direction they were prepared; and to the Officers who assisted him, my thanks for the great skill and attention shewn in the conduct of that business.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed)

G. WASHINGTON.

Major-General Knox.

FINIS.

J 303 J

repairs you to publish in the troops under
your command, in the order of this day.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. SHAW, A.D.C.

Hon. Brig. Gen. H. Jackson.

New York, December 3, 1783.

THE splendid display of Fire-Works last
evening, highly interesting to
I must refer to the President to Captain
PRICE, in connection they were pre-
pared, and those who assisted him,
my thanks for the great skill and attention
shown in the conduct of that business.



I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) G. WASHINGTON

Major-General Knox

